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THE
LIVES
And surprising
AMOURS
OF THE
EMPRESSES,
CONSORTS

To the first Twelve
CÆSARS of ROME.

CONTAINING

All the Passages of Chief Note in
ROMAN History :

AND

Particular Characters and Descriptions of
the most Celebrated

FAVOURITES, } } POETS,
COURTIERS, } } ORATORS, &c.

In those Reigns.

Taken from the Ancient GREEK
and LATIN Authors.

With HISTORICAL and EXPLANATORY NOTES.

L O N D O N :

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TO THE READER.

 O long as Rome maintain'd its Liberties, the Roman Ladies were distinguish'd for their Beauty, their Wit, their Vertue, or their Courage. Bearing no Title or Dignity in the Republick, the only Way to signalize themselves, and to mount upon the Wings of Fame, was by their Personal Merit. Lucretia's Chastity has immortalized her Name: That Heroine gave her Husband a noble Proof of her Innocence, at the Expence of her Life; and, revenging upon herself the Crime of Tarquin's Son, has set the Ladies a Pattern of Conjugal Fidelity, not ordinarily to be imitated. Clelia and her Companions signalized themselves by their Courage, their Resolution, and Love of their Country. And Porcia, Daughter to Cato, by swallowing live Coals to put an End to her Life, which her Relations would fain have

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have preserv'd, defeated the *Vigilance* of her Keepers, and has made a shining Figure in History for that notable Action.

But no sooner had the Emperors subjected Rome, and render'd themselves Absolute Masters of the Republick, than their Consorts became Sharers with them in their Grandeur, their Glory, and their Authority. The Romans, now addicted to Flattery, no less than they had formerly been jealous of their Liberties, exerted themselves in conferring pompous and magnificent Titles upon the Empresses, and in voting them all imaginable Honours: So that you will find Instances, in the following Sheets, of their receiving the great and glorious Appellations of *Augusta*, and *Mother of their Country*. Nay, they have assisted in the Senate, govern'd the City and the Empire, receiv'd and dispatch'd Ambassadors, disposed of Offices and Employ's; and, in a word, have themselves been consecrated to the Priesthood, and rank'd among the Deities.

Such were the Empresses of the first Twelve Cæsars, who make the Subject of this History: In compiling which, I have endeavour'd to be very particular in the Characters of such of them, as sprung from *Augustus*, or were marry'd

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marry'd to Princes of his Family; because they made by so much the more illustrious Figures, as certain Authors of Antiquity have thought it hardly worth their While to take notice of the Empresses between Nero's Reign, and that of Trajan. All the Facts, here related, are taken from Authentick Originals; and these, as far as was judg'd necessary to their Justification, are cited in the Margin, as you go along.

In tracing the Conduct of the Empresses of Rome, it was morally impossible to avoid bringing their respective Emperors frequently upon the Stage. Neither was I much concern'd about that; because I did not doubt but it would be agreeable to my Readers, to have the most Remarkable Part of their History interspers'd. And if I have not furnish'd out all that might be said of the Ladies, I trust I have at least given a tolerable Description of them.

There are some Passages, which I was one while thinking to retrench; but chose, upon second Thoughts, to relate them in such a Manner, as not to offend the nicest Ear: If, therefore, in any of the Blackest Lines of these Princesses Characters, I seem to deal in Obscurity, it may plead Excuse from the Modest

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dest of both Sexes. However, I had rather be censured as an Unintelligible Writer, than, by treading too closely upon the Heels of my Authors, give just Offence to the Wise and the Vertuous.



CAL:



CALPURNIA,
CONSORT
TO
JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR had four Wives. The first was *Cossutia*, of an Equestrian Family extremely rich. He was very young when he marry'd this Lady; and as his Inclination had little or no Share in the Match, they never cohabited, but he divorced her, to marry *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cinna*, famous for having been four times Consul. By this Alliance he drew upon himself the Displeasure of *Sylla* the Dictator, whose Power was the more formidable at *Rome*, in regard the Direction of Affairs was in a manner wholly in his Hands. This Gentleman, being *Cinna's* mortal Enemy, used all his Efforts to oblige *Cæsar* to repudiate *Cornelia*; but in vain: For beside that *Cæsar* was not naturally a Person of the most Complying Temper, he had been brought up under his Aunt *Julia*, Wife to *Marius*; and had thus imbibed, as it were with his Milk, that unconquerable Aversion, which all the Relations

of *Marius*, who was set up as a Barrier against the Arbitrary Power of the Dictator, bore to *Sylla*. On the other side, *Cæsar* loved *Cornelia* very affectionately; and if he had put her away without Cause, much more in Complaisance to *Sylla*, his Father-in-Law *Cinna* was powerful enough to make him repent it.

Sylla, who govern'd with an almost absolute Authority, having entertain'd a Conceit that he ought not in any thing to be opposed, was enraged at the obstinate Resistance he met with in *Cæsar*; and to make him feel his Resentment, he divested him of the Priesthood, seiz'd his and his Wife's Estate, precluded him from all Right of Succession, and would have carry'd Matters yet higher, had he not found some other Enemies to deal with, whom he look'd upon to be more Considerable, and had not the (a) *Vestal* Virgins with many other Persons of Distinction interposed in *Cæsar's* Favour.

Sylla was of too penetrating a Judgment, for *Cæsar's* Active Genius to escape his Observation. He perceiv'd the vast Designs of that ambitious

(a) *Numa Pompilius*, second King of *Rome*, built a Temple to the Honour of the Goddess *Vesta*, wherein he order'd a Fire to be kept, which was call'd Sacred and Perpetual, because it was never to go out; and instituted Nuns to take care and preserve it. They were call'd *Vestals* from the Name of the Goddess *Vesta*, to whom they were consecrated. The Eldest of these Nuns was call'd *Vestalis Maxima*, the Great *Vestal*, and had an absolute Authority over the others. They made a Vow of Virginity for thirty Years; after which they were allow'd to quit their State, to marry,

and choose any Condition of Life they pleas'd: But few made use of that Liberty, because it had been remark'd that as many as had done so, to marry and live in the World, spent the rest of their Days in Sickness or some other great Calamity, supposed to be sent from the Gods as a Punishment for their Desertion: And these unhappy Circumstances so fill'd their Heads with Fear and Superstition, that very few *Vestals* ever ventured to change their Condition. If any of them violated their Vow of Virginity before the thirty Years were expired, and committed a Crime against the

Roman,

Roman, and foresaw by some secret Light the Catastrophe he would one day bring upon the Republick. When his Friends importuned him therefore in *Cæsar's* behalf, he gave them his Reasons for proceeding in the Rigorous way he had done ; and cloaking his Private Revenge under the Specious Veil of the Publick Tranquillity, urged that it was the Common Interest of them all, to rid

Rules of Chastity, they put them to Death, by burying them alive in a deep Dungeon dug in a Field, call'd the *Execrable Field*. Into this Dungeon they were forced to go with their Faces cover'd, as if unworthy to behold the Light, and were left with only a burning Lamp, a little Bread, Water, Milk, and Oil. The day they were thus bury'd, the whole City was in Mourning, the Shops were shut, and nothing was to be seen but Marks of the profoundest Sorrow. The Accomplice of the Sacrilegious *Vestal* shared in her Punishment, as he had done in her Crime, and was whipt till he died. As the *Vestals* chief Employment was to attend the Sacred Fire Day and Night, they did this by Turns ; and if any of them proved so careless as to let it out, (which was look'd upon as a very bad Omen for the Republick) she was punish'd very severely ; being taken into a dark Corner, stript naked, and scourged by the *Pontifex Maximus*, or Chief Pontiff, behind a Curtain. This Discipline made People loth to part with their Daughters, and put them upon framing Excuses to keep them at home ; insomuch that at last they were obliged to take se-

veral by Force ; and many times the Emperors rewarded such as made generous Offers of their Children. We read, for Instance, that *Tiberius*, upon the Death of the Great *Vestal Occia*, being at a loss where to find a Virgin to supply her Place, *Fonteius Agrippa* presented his Daughter ; whereupon, tho' she was not admitted, *Cæsar* acknowledg'd the Senator's Good-Will, by making his Daughter a Present of four or five thousand Pounds. But you must know, it was not every Virgin, that could be received into the Order of *Vestals* : For she must not be under Six, nor exceed Ten Years of Age : She must have no Impediment in her Speech, no Lameness, nor any Defect of that sort : She must not be subject to any Distemper ; neither must she be descended of Parents in a Servile Condition, or of a mean Trade ; and generally speaking, they chose such whose Mothers had been but once marry'd. When it so happen'd, that they had none voluntarily offer'd, the Chief Pontiff named twenty Virgins, who cast Lots ; and she upon whom it fell, was conducted to the Temple of *Vesta*, and there shaved, and clothed in the Habit of the Order, which

themselves of a Man, who, if he liv'd, would one day ruin the Patricians of *Rome*, in whose Defence they themselves had shewn so much Zeal and Courage. Nevertheless, *Cæsar's* Fortune screen'd him from *Sylla's* Fury. The Dictator, forced at last by the Importunities of those to whom he could not deny such a Favour, gave *Cæsar* his Pardon: But to shew them he did it with Reluctance, *I grant you*, said he, *what you demand; but remember, there is more than one Marius lurking in the Veins of Cæsar.*

Cæsar was in his (b) *Quæstorship* when *Cornelia* died. He lov'd her too much, not to be nearly affected with the Loss; and to give a Publick Proof

was exceedingly modest; and it was reckon'd scandalous for a *Vestal* to be seen in a Garb unsuitable to the Sanctity of her Profession. Thus *Livy* informs us, the *Vestal Minucia* was blamed for dressing in Conformity to the Publick Fashion rather than to that of her Private Order. And so far was this Censure from being unjust, that the Event verity'd it; *Minucia* being soon after condemn'd to the Punishment of those who had violated their Chastity. There were many Privileges annex'd to this Order of *Vestals*. Their Revenues were assign'd to them out of the Publick Treasury: When they went abroad, they had *Lictors*, or Officers, clearing the Way, as before the Magistrates; and if they met a Criminal dragging to Execution, he was absolv'd on course, the bare Meeting of a *Vestal* being a sufficient Pardon; only the Nun, if required, must swear, that such Meeting was purely accidental, and no ways contrived. Their Persons were

inviolable; and in the Publick Assemblies, they had the first Places. In a word, People of all Ranks in *Rome* paid them the greatest Respect; they decided Differences between Persons of the highest Degree; and no body durst refuse them any thing. Hence it was, that *Cæsar's* Friends apply'd themselves to the *Vestals* to procure his Pardon at the Hands of *Sylla*. Their Number was limited to Six by King *Servius*; but it was afterward enlarged to Twenty. We must not forget to remark here, that if the Fire kept by the *Vestals* happen'd to go out, it could be rekindled no otherwise, than by Fire from Heaven, or by the Rays of the Sun.

(b) The Office of *Quæstor* was one of the most ancient in *Rome*, and that by which Men enter'd upon the Publick Administration of Affairs. None were admitted into it under the Age of Twenty Seven. There were originally but Two *Quæstors*, to whose Custody the Publick Treasure and
of

of both Passions, he mounted the (c) *Rostra*, and made a pompous Oration in her Praise. The Truth is, his Concern for her was the more just, in regard *Pompeia*, whom he marry'd soon after, gave him abundance of Vexation and Chagrin.

This Lady was Daughter to *Quintus Pompeius Rufus*, and Niece to *Sylla*; young, and well-shaped; of a gay Temper, and Amorous Com-

the Ensigns of War were committed; but almost all *Italy* being afterward render'd Tributary, and the Revenues of the Republick thereby considerably increas'd, the Number of *Quæstors* was first augmented to Eight, then by *Sylla* made up Twenty, and carry'd yet higher by *Julius Cesar*. Of all these *Quæstors*, only Two resided in the City, who kept an Account of the general Receipts and Disbursements of the Commonwealth: The others were distributed into the Provinces, to state and receive the Ordinary, as well as Extraordinary or Casual Revenues; for Example, the Booty taken in Battle, or at the Sacking of Towns; the Money arising from the Sale of Prisoners; and the like. Under the Emperors, this Office became yet more honourable; for when they were not at leisure, or not disposed to appear in the Senate, the *Quæstors* were delegated to go and make a Speech in their Name. Moreover, they sat as Judges of all Causes relating to the Debts of the State; but this Privilege *Nero* deprived them of, and gave it to the *Prefect*, or Mayor of the City. *Claudius* added several new Honours to the *Quæstorship*; but

debased it no less on the other hand, by exposing it to Sale in pursuance of *Dolabella's* Advice.

(c) There was at *Rome*, in the middle of the great Square call'd *Forum Romanum*, a Temple dedicated to *Fortune*, adorn'd with the Iron and Copper-Work of the Ships of *Antium* which fell into the Hands of the *Romans*. With the Beaks of these Ships they made a sort of Pulpit, call'd the *Rostra*, which was rais'd very high; and here the Magistrates mounted, when they had a mind to harangue the Multitude. Round this Pulpit were placed the Statues of several Great Men of the Republick; and from it were pronounced all the Funeral Orations and set Speeches. Here it was, that *Cicero* so often charm'd with his Eloquence; till at last it was defiled with Blood, and disfigured with the Heads of the bravest Citizens of *Rome*. *Marius* affix'd on it the Head of *Mark Anthony* the Orator, who had before adorn'd it with Triumphal Spoils. *Sylla* put up the Head of young *Marius*; and *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir* expos'd here the Head and Right Hand of *Cicero*.

* Sueton.
Vit. Jul.
Cas.

† Plutarc.
Vit. Cas.
Vit. Cicer.

|| Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

plexion. Not content with the Embraces of *Cesar*, whom she was suspected to marry more out of Policy than Inclination, she listen'd to the Addreses of (d) *Publius Clodius*, a Gentleman of an illustrious Family more ancient than *Rome* itself. *Clodius* was then in the Bloom and Vigour of Youth, graceful in his Person, and possess'd of a vast Estate, which he did not always employ to the best Purposes. He had a sharp ready Wit, a flowing Elocution, and was naturally of a jovial merry Humour: But withall, || of an enterprizing Genius, unruly in his Passions, furious in his Hate, and dissolute in his Manners; equally regardless of Laws and Magistrates, of things Sacred and Prophane; giving himself all the extravagant Airs he fancy'd his Superiority and Independence entitled him to; and abandon'd to the most infamous Pleasures, to which he was not ashamed to sacrifice even his own Sisters: In short, he would run all Hazards to gratify those Desires, which are generally the Attendants upon boiling Blood, and were in some sort authorized in *Clodius* by the Example of too many Citizens, who held the first Rank in a Republick tired, as one may say, of being Vertuous.

Clodius, the Man I have been describing, soon stood fair with the tender *Pompeia*: Nor had he long insinuated himself into her Good Graces, before it was discover'd that she had no Aversion to him.

(d) *Publius Clodius* was of the renowned Family of the *Claudius's*, who had constantly adhered to the Senate and Patricians against the People; and the *Clodius* we are writing of, was the only one of his Race that embraced the Interest of the People against the Senate. He got himself adopted by a *Plebeian*, on purpose to be chosen Tribune of the People. We shall see by and by, what Use he made of the Authority invested in him by that Office. *Clodius* marry'd *Fulvia*, by whom he had a Daughter named *Clodia*, who was marry'd to *Augustus*, but soon divorced.

Aurelia,

Aurelia, *Cæsar's* Mother, * a Lady of subtle Penetration, as well as of strict Vertue, was none of the last that perceiv'd this. She had an Eye continually upon her Daughter-in-Law, whose Prudence she never had a great Opinion of: And thus did *Aurelia* prove an *Argus*, not easy to be lull'd asleep. *Clodius* had in vain try'd all his Art to enjoy *Pompeia's* Company. He was baffled in every Step he took. *Pompeia* never march'd but under *Aurelia's* Banner. Where-ever she went, she had still this watchful Spy upon her, who founded her very Thoughts, and from whose Vigilance it was impossible for her to steal so much as a Glance, to bestow upon the unfortunate *Clodius*.

* *Plutarc.*
Vit. Cæs.
& in Re.
Apophth.

At length however, not all *Aurelia's* Care and Affiduity could prevent her being impos'd upon by the Lovers. *Cupid* undoubtedly pleas'd himself with the Thought, and put it into *Clodius's* Head how to come at a Sight of his Mistress. There was yearly offer'd at *Rome* a solemn Sacrifice to the (e) *Bona Dea*, or *Good Goddess*, in one of

(e) The *Bona Dea*, or *Good Goddess*, had several Names; but the Right was *Fauna*. She was Wife to one *Faunus*; and was so wise, chaste, and modest, that 'tis reported no Man knew her Name beside her own Husband; neither did ever any body but he see her Face. But an Accident befell this rare Woman, which occasion'd her being made a Goddess. One day, in her Husband's Absence, she found a Bottle of Wine, which she had the Curiosity to taste; and liking it well, she drank so much, that she was intoxicated; for she did not know the Strength of

the Liquor, having never till then tasted it. *Faunus* coming home, and finding her in that Condition, makes a Rod of Myrtle, and in his Passion whips her till she dies. This violent Correction of his was follow'd by a bitter Repentance. *Faunus* was ashamed of his Cruelty; and the Merit of a Wife he had us'd with so much Injustice and Inhumanity, added no small Poignancy to his Grief. However, the Misfortune was past all Remedy: It was impossible for him to bring *Fauna* to Life again; and therefore he would needs make a Goddess of her, and give her Immortality.

the Consul's Houses, or, in case of their Absence, in one of the (f) *Prator's*. Among other odd Ceremonies essentially annex'd to this Festival, they were superstitiously scrupulous never to celebrate it but by Night; nor to admitt any Man to it, no not so much as the Consul or *Prator* at whose House the Solemnity was perform'd; but the Wife, or Mother of such Consul or *Prator* presided therein, with the Assistance of the *Vestals*. Moreover, Entrance was not only deny'd to all Persons

(f) After the Expulsion of the Kings, two Consuls were created, who had the Administration of the Government, as we shall relate in the Sequel. But when it became necessary for the Consuls to quit the Town, and command the Armies, a *Prator* was made, to administer Justice in Rome; and this Magistrate was a sort of Collegue to the other two. His Power was most considerable during the Absence of the Consuls; for he had then a Right to call a Meeting of the Senate, wherein he presided; to repeal Laws, and make new: Hence the Term *Jus Honorarium*, or *Honorary Law*. Lastly it was at his House, that the solemn Sacrifice was perform'd to the Good Goddess; and he had a Right to do whatever the Consuls did. At first the *Prator* was chosen out of the Order of *Patricians*; but afterward the *Plebeians* were also admitted into this Office: And as one *Prator* was not sufficient for the City, by reason of the great Number of Strangers resorting to it upon Business; therefore another *Prator* was created, to take Cognizance of the Affairs

of Foreigners, who was styled *Prator Peregrinus*. In subsequent time, the *Prators* were augmented to Six: The two first decided Differences between Private Persons; and the four others try'd Criminal Causes. Finally, when the Provinces were become Tributary, and subjected to the Yoke and Laws of the Romans, other *Prators* were created, to be sent into the Provinces. They were entitled to wear a Robe of State, call'd the *Prætexta*, to sit in a *Curule* Chair, to be attended by *Lictors*, and even to command the Troops in their respective Provinces. The City *Prator* liv'd in the Palace anciently belonging to the Kings. His Court, or Tribunal, was call'd the *Prætorium*, whence the Name of *Prætorian Guards*; the *Prator* being attended by Soldiers, who stay'd in the *Prætorium* as long as the Court continued sitting. The *Prators* could not be absent from Rome above ten days. When they pass'd Sentence of Death upon a Criminal, they laid aside their *Prætexta*, and put on a Mourning Robe.

of the Masculine Sex; but even the Ladies took care to come to this Sacrifice with extraordinary Decency, and were so studious to avoid any thing that favour'd of Gallantry, * that they never brought Myrtle in their Nosegays, because that Plant was consecrated to *Venus*.

* *Plutarc.*
Quæst.
Rev. Rom.

However great the Danger was of transgressing these Laws, which no Man had ever yet dared to attempt; *Clodius*, the impetuous Salleys of whose Youth render'd him uncapable of Scruple or Reflexion, made no Difficulty of violating them, and of prophaning the Sacrifice, to meet his adored *Pompeia*. The Festival was now to be solemnized at *Cæsar's* House; and this Night was to be a *Pompeia* a Night of Triumph. She was to shine in the Assembly with the utmost Splendor of Dress and Beauty; but her Satisfaction could not be complete, unless *Clodius* saw her thus brilliant; as, on the other hand, *Clodius* could not live without a Sight of the Charms which were then to encircle his Mistress.

They made an Assignment therefore in the very Place of the Sacrifice, without giving themselves any Concern about the Dangers to which they were exposed, or the Obstacles which must of necessity render the Success of their rash Project precarious. The Enterprize was hazardous; but 'tis in such Triumphs that Love takes a particular Delight. The Affair in short was thus concerted: † *Clodius* was to disguise himself in Woman's Apparel, and to enter *Cæsar's* House among the Crowd. Here *Abra*, one of *Pompeia's* Women, who had the Management of the Interview, was to receive him, and to conduct him into her own Chamber, where *Pompeia* was to come to them. *Abra* had all the Qualifications necessary for carrying on an Intrigue; and *Clodius* had taken care to fix her well in his Interests. He

† *Plutarc.*
Vit. Cæs.
Vit. Cicer.

knew

knew there was a sort of Gallantry in which it is impossible to avoid trusting some Person or other with the Secret ; and who should have a more natural Right to such Confidence, than my Lady's Woman, or Chamber-Maid ?

Measures being thus taken, and the Time of Sacrifice come, *Clodius* without Fear or Foresight throws himself into the Hands of Fortune. He is disguised in Woman's Cloaths, and with a Face yet young enough to countenance the Cheat, marches under Shelter of the Night and his Dress, till he falls in among Women on their way to sacrifice at *Cæsar's* House. *Abra* punctually met him at the Door ; whence having as dextrously convey'd him into her Chamber, she ran and told her Lady, *Clodius* was impatient to receive her.

Moments generally seem tedious upon these Occasions : So they did to *Clodius* ; and with the more Reason, because *Abra* being by some Accident, common enough in such Cases, otherwise employ'd, (perhaps by *Aurelia's* Order) could not for a long while carry the Metamorphos'd Lover an Answer ; insomuch that he began to grow cool after all the Violence of his Heat. By and by her Delays make *Clodius*, not very patient by Nature, quite mad. He forms in his Brain a thousand Reasons of the Confidante's Stay, without conjecturing aright ; and his Impatience grew upon him every Moment to that Degree, that at last he steps boldly out of the Chamber, and recommending himself to the Guidance of Love, began to range the House. This unaccountable Resolution broke at once all the Measures he had concerted with *Pompeia* ; for not knowing which way to turn himself, but avoiding the Light and Company as oft as they presented, and affecting to conceal his Face that it should not be seen, he gave too plain ground of Suspicion.

le

It was not long before a Maid-Servant of the House, meeting him thus upon the Stray, and taking him for a Woman, ask'd him who he was, and what he wanted? This blunt Question dash'd *Clodius* out of Countenance: He was struck dumb for a while, and at last made shift to answer faintly, he wanted *Abra*. But the Confusion that appear'd in his Looks, and the Roughness of his Voice, which bely'd his Habit, soon unfolded the Mystery. The Maid perceiv'd the Disguise, and cry'd out with all her Might, there was a Man in the House dress'd in Woman's Cloaths.

This Uproar quite confounded the two Lovers, ruin'd the Project of their Interview, and set the whole Company agast! *Abra*, the chief Contriver of the Scheme, was so enraged at the Accident, that she ran up and down the House she hardly knew where, till anon with much ado she met *Clodius*; and having heartily curs'd him for his Impatience, convey'd him back into her Chamber. Mean while, *Pompeia* foreseeing the Part she must bear in this Scene, found herself surrounded with Dangers enow to embarrass the greatest Mind, or the quickest Invention. However, the Sacrifice is done; the Rites are suspended; *Aurelia* orders the Doors to be shut, and Flambeaux to be brought; and after a diligent Search, which she and her Train of Ladies made into every Corner of the House, at length they find *Clodius* in the Confidante's Chamber, and oblige him to depart.

The Scandal happening in an Assembly of Women, the Secret could not be of long Duration. All the Ladies were sick to be at home, to tell the Story to their Husbands. The next day, the whole Town rang of it. *Pompeia* and *Clodius* were the Subject of all Conversations. Nothing was talk'd of but their rash Enterprize; and

Cæsar

Cæsar being persuaded that *Clodius* did not undertake it without his Wife's Knowledge, or in Spight to her, he divorced her.

One of the (g) *Tribunes*, on the other hand, prosecutes *Clodius* for the Sacrilege. He hath Notice of Tryal; and seeing no other way to come off, resolves to deny all. He protests with Unconcern, he is wrongfully accused; for that he was out of Town the Night the Sacrifice was celebrated; and this he offers to prove. The Enquiry did not however turn to his Advantage. Several Witnesses deposed the Contrary of his Assertion; and among the rest, *Cicero* declared that *Clodius* came to him for Advice the very day the Accident happened. * This Deposition had a

* *Valerius
Maximus,*
L. 8. c. 5.

(g) The Romans being tired out with the Tyranny of Usurers, and the Oppression of their Great Men, drew together in a Corner of the City, and made a Mutiny. *Agrippa*, a Senator of consummate Prudence, and a Popular Man, was deputed to bring the headstrong Multitude to Reason, and managed this Affair so well, that he pacified them upon certain Conditions. The Principal of these was, that the People should have their separate Magistrates, to be chosen out of their own Body; which Magistrates should be sacred and inviolable. They were called *Tribunes of the People*. At first there were only two made; but their Number was afterward increased to twenty. At first also they were only to defend the People against the Power of the Nobility; but the Authority of this Post grew in time so considerable, that it was a Match even for the

Consulate. The *Tribunes* were at Liberty to harangue the People as often as they pleas'd, without Molestation from any Person whatever. They had Power to make Laws by which the three Orders were bound. They took under their Protection any that apply'd to them; who were thereby secured from the Prosecution of all other Magistrates, except the Dictator. Moreover, they had a Right to oppose the Decrees of the Senate, which they examined. They could even imprison the Consuls; for none durst resist their Commands, whose Persons were inviolable. *Sylla* retrench'd very much this Power of the *Tribunes*, and the Emperors afterward possess'd themselves of the Office, because it was Popular, and seemingly inconsistent with Tyranny, tho' its Authority was so extensive.

Weight

Weight proportionable to the Character of the Deponent; whose bare Testimony would have pass'd for sufficient Proof, in a Place where (b) *Cicero's* Integrity was held in so high Veneration.

(b) 'Tis well known that *Cicero* was one of the greatest Men of the Republick of *Rome*. His Name was derived from the *Latin* Word *Cicer*, which signifies *Chick-Pease*, because the first Man of Note in the Family had a Wart like a Pea on the Tip of his Nose. *Cicero* would not for all that change his Name; but when his Friends endeavour'd to persuade him to it, he answer'd, that he would make his Name so famous, that it should excell the *Scauri* and *Catulli*. His Merit rais'd him to the first Dignity in the Republick, of whose Liberties he was a generous and zealous Defender. He discovered *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and brought the Authors, and those concerned in it, to Punishment, which gained him the Love and Esteem of all the *Romans*. *Cicero* was the greatest Orator that ever liv'd; and his Arguments may be term'd the Decrees of the Senate. He had great Differences with *Clodius* and *Mark Anthony*. 'Tis said he engaged in the Conspiracy against *Julius Cæsar*; and that as soon as this Emperor was murdered in the Senate, *Brutus* fix'd his Eyes on *Cicero*, and holding up his Sword, reeking with the Blood of *Cæsar*, told him, *Rome* had now recovered its Liberty. *Cicero* is charged with having been very fear-

ful and timorous; and 'tis certain that whenever he spy'd a Soldier in the Senate, he could not go on fluently with his Discourse. He was also full of Vanity; insomuch that he could hardly speak a Quarter of an Hour without sounding his own Praises, and enumerating the Services he had done for the Republick. He marry'd *Terentia*, by whom he had a Daughter, marry'd first to *Piso*, and afterward to *Lentulus*; another who long survived him; and a Son named *Marcus Cicero*. He divorced *Terentia* in the Evening of Life, under Pretence that she despised him, and in his Absence had squander'd his Money, and encumber'd his Estate with Debts: But this Separation was attributed to a Cause nothing near so plausible, when he was seen to marry a young Woman that he had newly taken a Fancy to. This Wife he likewise repudiated after the Death of his Daughter, who died in Child-bed at her Husband *Lentulus's* House; because he imagined she rejoiced at the Loss of this Daughter, whom he tenderly loved. *Terentia* lived to the Age of 117. 'Tis reported that *Cicero's* Mother felt no Pain at his Birth. He was named *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. In the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, there was discover'd, upon the Road

Clodius

Clodius did not dream of his appearing as Evidence against him, because he was many ways obliged to him. His Friendship had stood *Cicero* in vast stead during his Contest with *Catiline*, who had certainly assaulted his Person more than once, had not *Clodius* constantly been with him, and served him by this means as a Body-Guard: For *Clodius* was a Man that would never suffer his Friend to be insulted. A Service so considerable, join'd with the firm Friendship which had always appear'd between them, made *Clodius* highly resent the Prejudice that *Cicero* did him by his Deposition. He thought there was a great deal of Ingratitude in it; and hence arose that implacable Hatred he always after bore to the (i) Orator as long as he lived.

near *Terracina*, call'd by the Romans *Via Appia*, a Tomb, and in it the Body of a young Woman, floating in some Liquor not known. Her Hair was light, and bound with a Gold Buckle; and she look'd as fresh as if she were still alive. At the Foot of this Corpse was a burning Lamp, which went out as soon as the Air found its way into the Tomb. It appear'd by some Inscriptions, that the Body had lain in this Place 1500 Years; and it was conjectured to be that of *Tullia*, *Cicero's* Daughter. It was carry'd to *Rome*, and expos'd in the Capitol, where People crowded to see it; but some Over-credulous imagining it must be the Corpse of a Saint, because it was not corrupted, the Pope order'd it to be cast into the *Tyber* in the Night.

(i) *Clodius* having conceived an implacable Hatred against *Cicero*, procur'd him-

self to be elected a *Tribune* of the People, on purpose to be revenged on the Orator. In effect, he banish'd him the City, set Fire to his Houses both in Town and Country, sold his Furniture by Auction, and gave him all the Vexation that was possible. *Cicero* retired to *Dyrrachium*, where he was very honourably treated, and tarry'd till *Milo* was chosen a *Tribune* of the People, and recall'd him, and openly espoused his Interest. Now to declare for *Cicero*, was to declare against *Clodius*: However, *Milo* being a Man of Courage, as well as Quality, shew'd no Regard to the Humour of one who had so cruelly persecuted the most zealous Citizen of *Rome*. And this was the first Occasion of their Difference; which in time grew to a downright Hatred, insomuch that they made it their Business to do each other all the Mischief in

It

It is nevertheless certain, that *Cicero* was more to be pity'd than blamed. His Evidence was not voluntary, but forced from him by an Authority he had more Reason to dread, than even that of the Tribune. His Wife *Terentia*, a Woman obstinate in her Opinion, and intractable in her Humour, obliged him to it. Her Heart was canker'd against *Clodius*, for the Attempt his Sister *Clodia* had made upon the Heart of *Cicero*. This Roman Lady, who was very beautiful, set so high a Value upon *Cicero*'s Merit, who had rais'd himself to the Degree of a Consul thro' all the lesser Posts of Honour, and was extremely Popular in *Rome*, that she would gladly have made him her Husband. But in regard this could not be, unless *Terentia* were first divorced, *Clodia* privately employ'd one *Tullus*,

their Power. *Clodius* was the first that declared himself, and it was when *Milo* stood for the Consulate; for then he vigorously opposed him, and made his Interest for *Scipio* and *Hyppseus*, the other Candidates. The two Parties had so warm a Struggle, that they were like to come to Blows. In the midst of it, *Clodius* returning to Town from *Aricia*, the 3d of February, meets upon the Road *Milo* going to *Lanuvium*. Their Servants had a Quarrel, which drawing in the Masters also, a Duel ensued, wherein *Clodius* lost his Life. This Accident set the City all in a Flame; and the Senate, to prevent farther Disorders, nominated *Pompey* Consul for the present, and ordered him to get an exact Information of the Affair. *Pompey* chose Commissioners out of all the Orders in *Rome*; and *Milo* put his Cause into *Cicero*'s Hands, to be defended. The Orator

who had infinite Obligations to *Milo*, employ'd the utmost of his Skill, and composed that admirable Oration (*pro Milone*) which is in every one's Hands; but his Performance in speaking it, was reckoned to fall short of the Composition. For *Pompey* having, to prevent Disorders, sent arm'd Soldiers to the Place where the Commissioners met, *Cicero* took Fright, and his Fears did so confound him, that in his Plea he could not speak half the fine things he had penn'd; and thus *Milo* was sentenced to a rigorous Banishment. *Marseilles* was the Place of his Exile; where 'tis reported that in reading *Cicero*'s Works, he met with the Oration composed in his Defence; whereupon he could not help saying, that if *Cicero* had spoken it as it was there written, *Milo* would have had better Employment than to fish for Oysters at *Marseilles*.

an intimate Friend both of *Cicero* and her Brother, to manage her Concern.

Terentia had no sooner discover'd this secret Negotiation, but she was seiz'd with a furious Jealousy, which render'd her a merciless Tyrant in her Family. As she was one that could not silently conceal her Passion, she made Noise enough to tire the most obdurate Patience. Never was *Cicero's* Vertue put more to the Proof, nor his Philosophy better exercised. *Terentia* fill'd the House every day with her Complaints; and as *Clodia* was far enough out of her Reach, those about her were made the more sensible of her Outrage. She desired nothing so ardently, as an Opportunity of revenging herself, and was glad of that which offer'd in the Affair of *Clodius*: Exercising therefore the absolute Dominion she had gain'd over the Spirit of *Cicero*, she made him appear against her Rival's Brother. It was doubtless a great Violence done to the Orator, who could not be unmindful of the Obligations he had to *Clodius*: But *Terentia* must be obey'd; and happy was it for him, that he could restore Calm in his Family upon those Terms.

Cicero was not however the only Evidence that appear'd against *Clodius*. There were Witnesses of all Ranks, who accused him of horrid Crimes; and his Brother-in-Law *Lucullus* sent a Maid-Servant to depose, that *Clodius* by an abominable Incest had made his own Sister False to her (k) Husband. It is certain that no body took *Clodius* to be

(k) *Clodius* had three Sisters; the eldest of whom he like a Brute debauch'd. Her Name was *Terentia*, and she was marry'd to *Marcus Rex*. The Second's Name was *Clodia*, Wife to *Metellus Celer*. This Lady was call'd in Derision *Quadrantaria*; because as no body took her to be cruel, she was chowfed by one of her Gallants, who instead of the Silver he had promis'd her, sent her a Purse of Farthings. The youngest marry'd *Lucullus*.

innocent, and that he would have found it a very hard matter to escape, but for a particular Contrivance to exempt him from the Severity of the Laws. They put in the Scale against his Crime, his Birth, his Alliances which engaged the principal Families in *Rome*, and the Protection of the People who declared openly in his Favour. Thus did Reputation triumph over Justice; and *Clodius* was acquitted, how plainly soever the Charge against him had been made good.

It must be own'd, that the Senate, to save their Honour, had recourse to Expedients. * Most of the Judges gave their Opinions in a very confused manner; and the first Sentence they pass'd upon him was so obscurely worded, that they were obliged to draw up a second to explain it. And 'twas by means of this design'd Obscurity that *Clodius* escaped.

* *Plutarch.*
Vit. Cæs.
Vit. Cicer.

What seem'd most Particular in this Affair was, that whilst all *Cæsar's* Friends and Relations were fired at the Wrong done him, he who was the Party most concern'd appear'd very easy, and shew'd no great Degree of Resentment. Too well inform'd of his Spouse's Intrigues, he did not date them from that Period of Time. He had taken Pains to unmask her, and had probably learnt more than he desired. Nevertheless, when he was summon'd to make his Complaint, he shew'd a surprizing Moderation. No body could imagine the Reason of this Conduct in so Critical a Juncture. Being interrogated about his Wife's Adultery, he answer'd, that he knew nothing of it; and because his Divorcement of *Pompeia* was a sort of Accusation, he told those who ask'd him why he had taken that Step, *Cæsar's* Wife ought not only to be clear of Crimes, but even of Suspicion also.

He found one of this Character in † *Calpurnia*, † See Note Daughter of *Lucius Piso*. As *Cæsar* was already(s)

|| *Sueton. in* a Man of Power, || he design'd his new Father-in-Law to succeed him in the Consulate, an Office of great Dignity then very much (1) canvass'd. *Cato*, the severe Censor of all such as aim'd at Superiority in *Rome*, could not behold this kind of Traffick, without Concern. He declaim'd with Vehemence against the manifest Violation of Publick Liberty, and told every body he was ashamed to see the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and chief Offices in the State, become the Reward of Marriages. This was *Cæsar's* last. He found in *Calpurnia* all the Qualities that could attract his Love.

She came of an illustrious Family deriving its Descent from *Numa Pompilius* second King of *Rome*. Her Beauty was set off with a great deal of Wit and Prudence, and an Eloquence that

(1) The *Romans* having shaken off the Tyrannical Yoke of *Tarquin*, they erected Magistrates to exercise the Government of the Republick. These were call'd *Consuls*, from the Word *consulere*, which signifies to take Care, that their Titles might constantly remind them of their Duty. There were but Two of them: Their Office was annual, and gave a Supreme Authority to those invested with it. They were not admitted before the Age of Forty-three. The *Consuls* were Presidents of the Council. They had the chief Command in the City, in the Armies, and the Provinces. They were likewise call'd *Prætors*; but afterward a new Office was created under this Name, and the former went only under that of *Consuls*. The *Consuls* were chosen in the *Comitia Martia*, and were taken out of the Patrician Or-

der till the *Licinian* Law was enacted; by which one of the *Consuls* was to be elected from among the *Plebeians*. The *Consuls* were attended by twelve *Lictors*, or Sergeants, carrying Axes ty'd up in Bundles of Rods, ready to scourge or behead, according to the Nature of Mens Crimes. He that was first elected of the two *Consuls* was call'd *Consul Major*, or Head-*Consul*, and had the Precedence in Rank: The other was his Colleague in the Office. The *Consuls* knew no Person above them. Their Authority was absolute; and the Law of the *Twelve Tables* is a sufficient Proof of their Sovereign Power. *Regio Imperio duo sunt, uque præeundo, judicando, consulendo; Prætores, Judices, Consules appellantur; Militia summum jus habento; Nemi parento; Ollis salus Populi Romani suprema lex esto.*

would

would compare with the happiest Orator's. She was moreover a true *Roman* in point of Generosity; and certainly this made her the fitter Wife for *Cæsar*, who had form'd the vastest and boldest Project that ever enter'd into the Brains of a Mortal, and who aspired at no less than the Conquest of the Universe.

She preserv'd in both Fortunes an Evenness of Mind, that nothing could ever disturb. As high as the Pitch of Glory was, to which *Cæsar* mounted by his Victories and his Triumphs, she was not a Jot the more proud or haughty upon it; but as long as she liv'd, she was always the same.

It is doubtless very rare to meet with so much Moderation in an exalted State; and it was the more commendable in *Calpurnia*, because in the high Post she fill'd, every thing seem'd to flatter her Ambition, and to authorize her Vanity. Her Fortune was extraordinary, as being the same with *Cæsar's*. That Emperor, by the Capacity of his Genius, superior to whatever he took in Hand, and by the Firmness of his Courage, from a *Roman* Senator only, made himself Master of the *Roman* People. His Arms, which had stricken Terror into all the World by his numerous Conquests, became as formidable in *Rome* itself. And that Republick, ever jealous of its Liberty; that Republick, which had haughtily given Laws to so many People, and imposed the Yoke of Slavery upon so many Nations, was compell'd to bear that of one of its own Citizens. The Senate, that awful and venerable Body; that Senate, which had lorded it over so many Kings deposed at their Pleasure; that very Senate, I say, were made Slaves and Tools to *Cæsar*: All those lofty Heads which compos'd it, were forced to bow and pay him Submission, and to decree the most august and sacred Honours to the Tyrant of their Liberties.

He was call'd by the Pompous Title of *Father of his Country*, and declared (m) *Perpetual Dictator*; a supreme Dignity which *Sylla* with all his Power and Authority durst not hold, because it grew odious the very Moment it was propos'd to be made Perpetual. A Place was assign'd to him in the Senate, distinct from all the others, by its Elevation and the Richness of its Furniture. They built before his Palace a stately Temple to his Honour. They adorn'd his House with a magnificent Cupola, making it by this singular Privilege equal to the Temples of the (n) Gods. Lastly, they gave his * Name to one of the (o) Months in the Year; placed his Statue among

* *Sueton.*
Plutarch.
Vit. Cas.
Florus,
l. 4. c. 2.

(m) The Dictatorship was an extraordinary Office, created only upon a pressing Occasion, when the Republick was threaten'd with imminent Danger. The Dictator was elected by the Consuls; and the Choice was always made in the Night. He had an absolute Power of Life and Death over all the Citizens. No Appeal lay from his Sentence; or at least we have but one Instance to the contrary; and that is in *Livy*, who tells us, *M. Fabius* appeal'd from the Sentence of the Dictator *Papyrius*, to the Tribunes and the People: *Tribunis plebis appello, & provoco ad populum*. The Dictator was styled Master of the People, *Magister populi*. All the other Magistrates were inferior to him; his Orders were respected as Oracles; and the Consuls themselves were his Subjects. Four and twenty *Lictors* march'd before him. He was not bound by any Law. It was his Business to name the General of Horse, who was a sort of Lieutenant

to the Dictator, *Magister equitum*; but he always fought on Foot. This Office was but for six Months. They would not give longer Time to a Power so monstrous, which furnish'd the Possessor with an Opportunity of becoming the Republick's Tyrant.

(n) No private Persons were allow'd to build Domes upon their Houses; it being a Privilege reserv'd for the Temples of the Gods.

(o) *Romulus*, first King of Rome, divided the Year into ten Months, beginning with that of *March*, to which he gave that Name from the God *Mars*, whose Son he pretended to be. To these ten Months, *Numa* made the Addition of two; but still the Year began with that of *March*. The Month of *July* being the Fifth, it was call'd *Quintilis*, till, to do Honour to *Cesar*, it was changed to his Name *Julius*; as afterward the sixth Month was call'd *Augustus* in Honour to the Emperor of that Name.

those

those of the Gods; and, by an impious and sacrilegious Flattery, gave him the (p) *Apotheosis* before he was dead.

Amidst these excessive Honours, *Calpurnia* was not forgot; neither did the Senate, who had been so liberal to *Cæsar*, shew themselves covetous with regard to his Spouse. Beside those paid to the Emperor, whereof as Empress she was Partaker, they voted particular Honours to *Calpurnia*. Flattery was not wanting to her in point of Title or of Panegyrick; for when the Senate, by a servile Complaisance, had granted divine Honours to *Cæsar*, *Calpurnia* might well have lofty Pretensions.

Yet did not all these vain Titles, this Power,

(p) The *Apotheosis* was a Ceremony among the *Romans*, when they would place an Emperor, an Empress, a Hero, or any other illustrious Person, among the Gods. The principal Parts of this Solemnity were these: They made an Image of Wax resembling the Person they would deify; and having laid it upon a Bed of State, the Senators and other Persons of Distinction of both Sexes went to visit it for seven Days. Afterward, this Image being carry'd to the *Forum Romanum*, Songs were sung to the Praises of the Deceased; and then it was removed to the *Campus Martius* without the City, where the Panegyrick of the Person who occasion'd the Ceremony was pronounced. While this was doing, the Pontiff placed the Image of Wax upon the second Story of a Pile of Wood made into five or six Stories, Pyramid-fashion, the Inside whereof

was fill'd with small dry Wood, upon which they sprinkled several Perfumes. Lastly, the Emperor, assisted by the Consuls and other Magistrates, set Fire to the Pile; and as soon as it was lighted, they let fly from the uppermost Story an Eagle if it was a Man that was deify'd, or a Peacock if it was a Woman. The Bird, being frighted at the Flames, soar'd on high; and the People imagined it then carry'd the Soul of the Deceased among the Gods. After the Ceremony, a Temple was built to the Honour of the new Deity. At first, it was a rare thing to grant Immortality to Men: They must merit that Honour by signal Exploits; and even then it was not decreed to them till after their Death. But when once Flattery had found Admittance into the Breasts of the *Romans*, Divine Honours were frequently adjudg'd to living Men.

and these Honours, sufficient to corrupt the strictest Moderation, produce a Change in *Calpurnia's* Temper. She never shew'd the least Mark of Pride; nor could any Promotion break in upon her Modesty. No Difference appear'd between *Calpurnia* Wife to *Cæsar* Senator of *Rome*, and *Calpurnia* Wife to *Cæsar* Master of the Universe. Her Deportment was constantly the same; always genteel and affable: And her Mildness and Good-Nature were no less conspicuous in the most exalted Fortune, than the Greatness of Mind she afterward shew'd when *Cæsar* was basely murder'd.

**Plutarc.*
Sueton.
Vit. Cæs.

* The Government of that Dictator, however benign, for he prided himself chiefly in Acts of Clemency and Generosity, was nevertheless insupportable to a People inured to Liberty, and altogether unacquainted with Servitude. Having never felt any greater Weight than Laws of their own making, they look'd upon *Cæsar's* Power and Advancement to be not so much the Reward of his Merit and Capacity, as an Instance of their own Weakness and Indolence. The Senate was composed of many brave Men, several of whom had commanded *Cæsar*; and these found it very hard to stoop to an absolute Authority, to obey a Person they had formerly known subject to their Orders, and to be reconciled to a servile Dependence upon one they thought not at all superior to themselves, except in his boundless Ambition. They unite their Interests therefore; and covering what was perhaps nothing but the Effect of private Disgust, or of tormenting Jealousy, under the specious Name of Defence of the Publick Liberties, they form a Design to shake off this new Master's Yoke, which they could not bear without Fretting, and resolve to put a speedy End to *Cæsar's* Power, by putting a Period to his Life.

This

This Treason was hatch'd in the Brains of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who drew in many Senators of the highest Merit. Nothing now remains, but an Opportunity to put their Design in Execution; and for such they appoint a Day when *Cæsar* was to meet the Senate, to propose an Affair of Moment. *Calpurnia* had some unaccountable Foresight of the Danger that threaten'd her, when yet the Conspiracy was but in its Bud. She dreamt, that the Dome built upon *Cæsar's* House by a solemn Decree of the Senate, fell down and crush'd him to Death in her * Arms. This frightful Dream broke off * *V. Max. de somniis.* her Rest; and being yet half asleep, she heard her Chamber-Doors fly open of themselves, with a terrible Noise. *Calpurnia*, tho' not superstitious, was very much startled. Her Tenderneſs for *Cæsar* made her apprehend the Accomplishment of her fatal Dream; and she well knew there was too much ground for her Fears. But her Concern was beyond all Expression, when she found the Emperor obstinate in his Resolution to go to the Senate, notwithstanding the different Warnings given him of the Danger; for he had received Letters from several Hands, assuring him that there was a Design against his Life, and advising him to beware of the Ides of *March*, or it would prove a fatal Day to him. To these Presages, seemingly of Weight enough in themselves, *Calpurnia* join'd her Tears, and *Cæsar's* Friends their Intreaties: And they fancy'd they had made some Impression upon him, when he balanced whether he should meet the Senate that Day, or put it off to another. The Business was only to propose an Expedition against the *Parthians*; and beside, he was not very well. At last he resolv'd therefore to dismiss the Assembly, and was sending *Mark Anthony* upon that Message, when *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, came to tell him, the Senate was met in pursuance of his Order, and waited

only his Arrival to declare him King of all the Provinces of the Empire, and to authorize him to wear the Ensigns of that Dignity; that it would betray an intolerable Weakness to regard a Woman's Dreams; and that to send home the Senators without meeting them, and at least returning them Thanks for their good Intention, would favour too much of Pride and Disdain.

These perfidious Arguments soon determin'd *Cæsar's* wavering Mind; and he was surprized into it with the less Diffidence, because *Brutus Albinus* had a thousand Obligations to him. Thus did the Emperor, tho' of admirable Sagacity, pursue his Destiny upon the Credit of *Brutus*, and went to the Senate along with that false Friend. He was got but a very little way from his own House, when an unknown Slave attempted to speak to him; but not being able to get thro' the Crowd, he hasten'd to *Calpurnia*, and begg'd she would detain him till the Emperor came home, because he had Business of the last Importance to communicate to him.

Another Person, either more zealous, or more bustling than the Slave, push'd thro' the Crowd, and deliver'd into *Cæsar's* Hand a Paper, containing the whole Secret of the Conspiracy, and press'd him to read it immediately, because he would find something which very nearly concern'd him. He began several times to read it, but was constantly interrupted by the Crowd of People about him, who dinn'd his Ears with their different Affairs. *Cæsar* therefore, abandon'd to his Ruin by a dismal Fatality, enters the Senate-House, amidst the Miscreants who had enticed him thither on purpose to sacrifice him to the Publick Liberty, which they pretended he had invaded; but in Truth, to offer him up a Victim to their particular Jealousy.

It

It was doubtless very unhappy for *Cæsar*, that *Mark Anthony* did not attend him to the Senate-House. Far from being concern'd in the Plot, he was a fast Friend of *Cæsar's*, and as such would certainly have defended him. (q) *Brutus* well foresaw this; and therefore stopt him designedly at the Door, as if he had some important Secret to communicate to him, whereas he only detain'd him to give Time to his Accomplices to strike the Blow: And his Artifice succeeded.

Cæsar was hardly sat down, when the Conspirators came about him, pretending to do him Honour. *Clodius* gave the Signal by taking him by the Robe; at which the others drew near. *Cassius* stabb'd him with a Dagger; and immediately they all surrounded him with naked Swords.

Cæsar defended himself for some time: But when he saw *Marcus Brutus* with his Sword drawn among the rest; *Brutus*, upon whom he had heap'd so many Favours; *Brutus*, of whose Pretensions he had been a constant Supporter; *Brutus*, for whom he had so particular a Tenderness, and who was Dear to him upon more than (r) one Account:

(q) It is by many believ'd however, that *Mark Anthony* was in the Secret of the Conspiracy against *Cæsar's* Life. 'Tis even reported, that *Trebonius* told it him in Confidence, when they went to meet *Cæsar* on his Return from *Spain*: That it is true, *Mark Anthony* would not be concern'd with them; but that he was Faithful enough with regard to the Secret, to keep it from *Cæsar*.

(r) *Servilia*, *Brutus's* Mother, was, of all *Cæsar's* Mistresses, the Woman he loved with the greatest Affection. He made her a Present of a Pearl, which

cost him 150,000 Crowns. *Servilia* was suspected of carrying her Acknowledgments too far, and of conceding all that *Cæsar* could ask. Hence *Brutus* was generally look'd upon by the *Romans* as the Fruit of their Amours. Nevertheless, he join'd in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, who loved him very tenderly, and had done him a thousand Kindnesses. His Ingratitude is no otherwise excusable, than upon the Score of Love for his Country's Liberties, over which *Cæsar* tyrannized: But this Zeal for his Country did not acquit him in the Sight of all the World.

Then

Then he wrapt himself in his Cloak; and call'd to him in the most Affectionate Strain, *How, Son Brutus! Are you among the Assassins?* These were his last Words, with which he expired upon the Spot, being stabb'd in no less than three and twenty Places. And thus, says an * Historian, he who had fill'd the Universe with the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, now fill'd the Senate-House with his own Blood.

* *Florus,*
lib. 4. c. 2.

This Parricide, as it threw the City into the utmost Disorder and Confusion, so it affected *Calpurnia* with an inconsolable Sorrow. She paid on this Occasion the Tribute of Tears and Sighs which was due to the Merit of so great a Man; and beside those mournful and domestick Tokens of her Grief, she gave the most publick and glaring Evidence of her Esteem for him, by pronouncing his Funeral Panegyrick in the *Rostra*, with an Eloquence and Politeness admired by all the World. Indeed, she did not load her Arms with a Case of Knives, to take away her Life: True Affection does not require such violent Methods. *Calpurnia's* was very generous, but not savage. She heartily bemoan'd herself, and said, Nothing could make up to her the Loss of so Great a Man. Thus did *Calpurnia*, without Cutting of Throat or Hanging, bid Adieu to all the Pleasures of Life, and spend the rest of her Days in Sorrow and Mourning at *Mark Anthony's* House; who had the Command of her Treasure, to enable him to revenge the Death of her Illustrious (s) Consort.

The Author of the Distich under *Brutus's* Head in the Great Duke of *Tuscany's* Gallery did not approve of this Conspirator's Action. That Head is the Work of the famous *Michael Angelo*, who began it, but left it unfinished; which gave Occasion to some Poet to write under it these Lines:

*Dum Bruti effigiem Sculptor
de marmore ducit,
In mentem sceleris venit,
& abstinuit.*

(s) The Family of the *Calpurnians* was very ancient and honourable. Some derive it from *Calpus*, Son to *Numa Pompilius*. *Ovid* says this in
~~so many Words~~:

Nam

—*Nam quid memorare necesse est,*

Ut domus à Calpo nomen Calpurnia ducat?

This Family was divided into two Branches, one of which bore the glorious Surname of *Frugi*, which signifies *Men of Worth*. The Surname of *Piso* was common to them both. *Calpurnius Piso*, Father to our *Calpurnia*, was Consul in the Year of Rome 753; wherein some Authors place the Birth of

JESUS CHRIST. *Calpurnia* entrusted *Mark Anthony* with *Cæsar's* Money and his Papers. Before we leave her, it may be proper to remark, that this Lady was not the same *Calpurnia* of *Rome*, who being allow'd to plead her own Cause, betray'd so much Heat and Fury, as gave ground for an Edict whereby her Sex was for ever after restrain'd from Pleading.



LIVIA



LIVIA DRUSILLA, CONSORT TO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.



F all the *Roman* Empresses, *Livia* may be said to have done most Honour to the Dignity, and to have best supported her Character. *Augustus* himself owes Part of his Glory

* *Senec.
de Clem.
lib. 1. c. 9.*

to her; since he * consulted her upon the most difficult and important Occasions, and frequently follow'd her Advice. She was Daughter to *Livius Drusus Calidianus*, who being of the number Proscribed by the Fury of the *Triumvirat.*, † went precipitately into the Measures of *Brutus* and ‡ *Vell. Pa- Cassius*, and afterward ‡ destroy'd himself in cold *terc. Hist.* Blood, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Mark Anthony* and *Augustus*, upon the Loss of the Battle of *Philippi*.

† *Dio, lib.
48.*

‡ *Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.*

The Family from which *Livia* was descended, was beyond Contradiction one of the most Illustrious in *Rome*. || Her Origine was even more ancient than the City itself. None has made a better

|| *Plutarc.
Vit. Pub-
licol.*

Figure

Livia Drusilla, Consort to Augustus: 29

Figure in History, either for the great * Persona-^{* Sueton.} ges it produced, or for the constant Adherence^{in Tiber. c. 1. & 2.} of the (a) Patrician Family of the *Claudius's*, (except *Publius Clodius*,) to the Senate against the People, whom they always treated with Contempt and Disdain, and even with Insolence. It was from this Family of the *Claudius's*, that *Calpurnius* sprung; and it was only by † Adoption that he † Tacit. belong'd to the *Livian* Family, whence he took^{Annal. 3. c. 1.} the Name of *Livius*, and his Daughter that of *Livia*; the other of *Drusilla* being derived from *Drusus*, a Name well known among the *Claudius's*.

But beside the Dignity of her Birth, † *Livia's* † Vell Pa² Beauty was not to be match'd in all Rome. She was^{terc. Hist. lib. 2.} a Lady of prodigious Parts, cultivated by Learn-

(a) To understand what is meant by the *Patrician* Families, you must know *Romulus* pick'd out the most eminent and substantial Men of Rome, and separated them from the rest of the Citizens. As they were considerable for their Wisdom and Discretion, no less than for their Riches, he gave them the venerable Name of *Fathers*; and the rest had the single Appellation of *People*. The Descendents of these *Fathers* were call'd *Patricians*. Afterward, this same King chose 100 from among the *Fathers*, of whom he composed the *Senate*; and from among the other Families, both *Patrician*, and *Plebeian*, or of the *People*, he took 300, and erected them into a third Order, between the *Senate* and *People*, to wit, the *Equestrian*, or that of *Knights*. Thus were the Romans divided into *Senators*, *Knights*, and *Plebeians*. If any of the *Patrician* Order, who was neither a *Senator* nor

a *Knight*, was qualify'd to be a *Knight*, he was made a *Knight*. So likewise those of the *Equestrian* Order, who had the Qualifications requisite in a *Senator*, were made *Senators*: And those even of *Patrician* Families, who were neither *Knights* nor *Senators*, were necessarily obliged to remain *Plebeians*; for to rise from one Degree to another, a Man must have certain Faculties, beside a clear Reputation. Hence it is evident, that there were three sorts of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*: *Patricians* and *Plebeians* that were *Senators*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians* that were *Knights*, and *Patricians* and *Plebeians* among the *Vulgar*, which was regulated according to the Bulk of each Man's Estate. When the *Senate* met, the *Fathers* were summon'd by an Usher, and the *People* were call'd to Publick Audience by Sound of Cornet.

ing,

* *Macrob.*
lib. 2. c. 5.

† *Senec.*
de Clem.
lib. 1. c. 9.

‡ *Sueton.*
in Aug.

|| *Tacit.*
Annal. 5.
c. 1.

§ *Vell. Pa-*
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

ing, and capable of the most profound and refined Politicks. * Her Apprehension was quick and subtle, her Discernment just, her Manner sprightly and delicate. She had a nice Taste, and so deep a Penetration, particularly in taking the right Clue in any ticklish Affair, that † *Augustus*, when he became acquainted with it, never held a serious Discourse with her, but he enter'd it in his Journal. On the other hand, she was ‡ ambitious, haughty, and proud; and shew'd herself, in all her Carriage, a true Descendent of the *Claudian* Family. Her Severity was nevertheless free from Rudeness or Ill-Nature; for tho' she valued herself upon the ancient Rigour of the Republick, || she knew well how to soften it by abundance of Civility, and by an Air of Freedom not allowable in Women when *Rome* was in its Infancy.

Such was *Livia*, when given in Marriage to *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, who was also of the *Claudian* Family: A Man of excellent Learning, and so generally admired for his Bravery, that *Julius Cæsar*, who was a good Judge of Merit, was pleased to § honour that of *Tiberius* with the (b) Pontificate, and to conferr upon him the Com-

(b) The Pontificate was one of the most considerable Offices in *Rome*. The Pontiffs were first appointed by King *Numa Pompilius*, to preside in the Publick Ceremonies. They had the Care of whatever regarded Religion and the Worship of the Gods. They watch'd over the Safety, the Liberty, and Fortune of the Citizens. They decided all Causes wherein the Worship of the Gods was concern'd. They enacted Laws in relation to the Sacrifices. They were under no Person's Subjection,

and were accountable for their Conduct, neither to the Senate nor the People. When they were first instituted, there were but Four of them, taken from the Order of *Patricians*. Afterward, Four more were added, of the Equestrian Order; and lastly, *Sylla* augmented their Number with Seven more: So that these Fifteen Pontiffs compos'd a Body which was call'd the College of Pontiffs, wherein the Senior presided, and was call'd the Chief Pontiff. As several Privileges were annex'd to this Dignity, there mand

mand of the Colonies he sent to *Arles*, *Narbonne*, and other Towns of *Gaul*, * in Consideration of * *Sueton.* the signal Services he had done the Republick *in Tiber.* whilst he commanded the Fleet in the War of *Alexandria*, which was decided by a great Victory obtain'd by *Cæsar*, and owing in a great measure to *Tiberius Nero*. ^{c. 4.}

This Marriage soon proved Fruitful. *Livia* was with Child, and conceived so great a Joy upon it, as nothing could moderate, but the Fear that it was not a Boy; which she wish'd with all the Passion common to new-marry'd Women. She try'd all the Methods she could hear of, to discover whether her Desire would be answer'd. Her Curiosity well suited with her Age; and 'tis reported of her, that she once took an Egg from under a Hen that sat, and kept it so warm in her Hand or her Bosom, that at last out peeps a Chick with a surprizing Comb, which she look'd upon as a sure Presage of her having a Male Child. The Event answer'd her Expectation. She was deliver'd of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, whose Infancy was attended with so many Disasters. And this Piece of History tending very much to illustrate that of *Livia*, it will not be improper to relate it here as succinctly as possible. *Plin.* *l. 10. c. 55.* *Sueton.* *in Tiber.*

When *Julius Cæsar* was assassinated in full Senate, as we have said before, People flatter'd themselves that † *Rome* would see an End of its Slavery in that of its Tyrant; and that the Republick would find its Liberty spring from the Blood of the Man who had invaded it. But his Death, on the contrary, proved the fatal Seed of everlasting Discord and Divisions, and the Ground of a War worse than Civil. Empires have doubtless their

was generally a great deal of Bustle and Canvassing for it. Moreover, the Emperors got Admittance, and were proud

of this Office, till it was abolished in the Reign of *Theodosius*.

Fate, as well as Men. *Rome* was arrived at the highest Pitch of Glory and of Grandeur, to which it was possible for it to arrive; and it must therefore, according to the Vicissitude of Human Affairs, now fall back again into its primitive State, and submit to the Chains from which it had so gloriously freed itself.

Mark Anthony, General of *Julius Caesar's* Troops, and *Octavius Caesar*, afterward styled *Augustus*, adopted Son and Nephew to that Emperor, resolv'd to revenge his Death; each for particular Motives, which however tended to the same End, and were indeed the Seal of their Ambition. *Mark Anthony* was actually invested with the Consulship, a Dignity which gave him an absolute Authority. Some of his Family also enjoy'd the best Offices in the State; one of his Brothers being a *Tribune*, and the other a *Prætor*. Flush'd with his own Power, and the Interest of these Gentlemen, he fancy'd he might do what he pleas'd; and in this blind Presumption he demanded the Government of (c) *Cisalpine Gaul*, conferr'd by *Caesar* upon *Decimus Brutus*, who was afterward one of his Murderers.

But *Anthony* did not find Possession so easy to come at, as he imagined. His Ambition was dreaded in the Senate; who had therefore no Inclination to feed it, by entrusting him with a Government of so great Importance. *Brutus* on the other hand was look'd upon as a Man acting in Defence of the Republick. It was not forgot, that *Rome* owed its first Liberty to one of his (d) Ancestors. They knew that Love of the

(c) *Cisalpine Gaul* was what we now call *Lombardy*, which is a Part of *Italy*, situate between the *Alpes* and the *Apennine*, on both sides of the *River Po*.

(d) *Junius Brutus*, Son of *Tarquinius*, Sister to King *Tarquinius the Proud*, seeing that cruel Prince put the principal Citizens to Death, because he apprehended some Danger from

Country was a Vertue hereditary in his Family; and there was no Reason for removing *Brutus* from his Government, to conferr it upon *Anthony*. It was done notwithstanding; in pure Respect to

them, counterfeited the Fool, on purpose to become contemptible, and avoid giving Uneasiness to that suspicious King. Nevertheless, it appear'd by the Sequel, that this pretended Folly was an Act of the highest Wisdom in *Junius*. For *Titus* and *Arunx*, the King's Sons, going to *Delphos* by their Father's Order, to consult the Oracle, upon Occasion of a Prodigy that had happen'd at *Rome*, they obliged their Cousin *Brutus* to give them his Company, with no other design than to make Sport of him. After they had done with their Questions concerning the Prodigy, they ask'd the Oracle in a jesting way, which of them should succeed their Father *Tarquin*? And the Oracle having answer'd, That the young Prince who should first give his Mother a Kiss, should soon be vested with the Supreme Authority; they concluding the Prediction could affect none beside themselves, resolved to draw Lots which of them should first salute their Mother. *Brutus* on the other hand had no Regard to the Literal Sense of the Words, but fancy'd there must be somewhat Mysteious in them. So making as if he fell, he gave the Earth a Kiss, which is the common Parent of Mankind. The Oracle was verifi'd in his Favour: For *Sextus Tarquinius*, another of the King's Sons, having basely defiled the Bed of the Senator *Collatinus*, by doing Violence

to his Wife *Lucretia*, and forcing her in Spight of the brave Resistance made by that chaste Lady; this detestable Vice did so incense the *Romans*, that they took up Arms under the Guidance of *Brutus*, who animated them to revenge the crying and irreparable Injury done to *Collatinus*, and made them promise upon Oath, never more to bear the Sovereignty of Kings. In short, *Tarquin* and his whole Family were driven from *Rome*; and the Supreme Authority was vested in two Magistrates call'd *Consuls*. *Brutus* was the first Man they cast their Eyes upon, to fill this high Dignity; and it was plain by his Conduct, that they were not deceived in their Choice of him, to defend that Liberty of which he was the Author. He maintain'd the Interests of this new Republick with so ardent a Zeal, made the People so sensible of the Sweets and Advantages of Independence, and gave so many Instances of Love to his Country, that when he died, the *Roman* Ladies wore Mourning for him above a Year, and a Statue was erected to his Honour in the Capitol. His Memory was always held in great Veneration at *Rome*. The Birth of the Republick was look'd upon as his Work. And therefore, when *Julius Caesar* had possess'd himself of the Sovereignty, these Words were one day found written under *Brutus's* Statue: *Would to God thou wast but alive!*

D

Augustus,

Augustus, whom they were loth to mortify, by refusing him the first Favour he had ever ask'd.

* *Florus*,
lib. 4.

Indebted to *Augustus* for so signal a Service, *Mark Anthony* should have given him some Token of his Gratitude: But other Considerations prevail'd over those of Requitall. * Stung with Jealousy, and enraged at *Cæsar's* declaring *Augustus* his next Heir, in prejudice to himself, he resolv'd to cross him in all his Designs, to give them a Vicious turn, to put false Glosses upon his Actions, and thus to render him suspected in whatever Step he took. Nay, the more effectually to

† *Vell. Pa-*
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

‖ *Sueton.*
in *Aug.*

† ruin him in the Opinion of the Senate, and to make him as odious as possible, he charged him with Crimes of the deepest Dye, and went so far as to ‖ accuse him of an Attempt to murder him.

Mark Anthony's Malice was too notorious for *Augustus* to be ignorant of it; who, tho' very young, was sensible he ought always to be upon his Guard against a Man he had so much Reason to be diffident of. Persuaded therefore that *Anthony* was the Enemy whose perfidious Practices he had the greatest Occasion to fear, he resolv'd to break off all Correspondence with him; and in order to put it out of his Power to hurt him, he even undertook the Ruin of his Party. He began to consider, that the Government of *Cisalpine Gaul* invested the Person that had it with very great Advantages; and that it was consequently his Business to prevent *Anthony's* taking Possession, tho' the Post had been conferr'd upon him. Hereupon he courts the Friendship of *Bru-tus* yet in his Government, and advises him upon no Account to resign to *Anthony*. Farther, to take away from him all ground of Distrust, and convince him that what he had done proceeded from a Spirit of Candor and Sincerity, he sent him Ammunition to *Modena*, whither he was retired, together with Supplies of Men and Money; leaving

leaving it to another Opportunity to revenge *Cæsar's* Death.

The Year of *Mark Anthony's* Consulship being expired, the Senate met to choose new Consuls, and to consider of proper Precautions against the dangerous Views of that ambitious *Roman*, with whom they were as little pleas'd, as with his Colleague *Dolabella*. *Cicero*, that renowned Orator, who was unquestionably the First in Reputation and Authority in the Senate, declaim'd with Vehemence against *Anthony*, with whom he had been at Variance for some time. Never did his Eloquence display its Colours with greater Art, or more Success. Back'd with the Friendship of *Augustus*, who had committed his Affairs to him, and whose Arms and Credit banish'd his Fears, * he drew the Picture of his Enemy with so much * *Philip-
pic. 2.* Artifice, cunningly exaggerating the Vices of that ambitious General, and descanting upon all his Foibles, that a Man would imagine he saw in *Anthony* an Abstract of all sorts of Crimes. Never did *Cicero* employ his Persuasive Faculty to better Advantage; for after having censured the Life of *Mark Anthony*, and expos'd all his Actions on the Faulty side, he found means so effectually to convince the Senate, that the fatal † Consequences his haughty Government had already produced, were only a Prelude to what they were to expect, that *Mark Anthony* was declared an Enemy to the Republick, by a Decree which gave him enough of Uneasiness to oblige him to quit *Rome*, where he could not think himself in Safety.

Anthony, however, was not destitute of Friends, who endeavour'd to clear him of the Crimes laid to his Charge, tho' their Efforts were vain. *Cicero's* Eloquence was Victorious; and || the Senate had || *Vell. P. x.
terc. Dio.* conceiv'd such a Prejudice against *Anthony*, that they order'd him to lay down his Arms. On his § Refusal to do this, *Augustus* and the Con- § *Appian.
Florus,
Sueton.* suls

fuls *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were commission'd to give him Battle before *Modena*, which Place he had besieged. The Good Cause triumph'd: *Anthony's* Army was defeated; and he was forced to save his Life by an ignominious and precipitate Flight. The Siege was rais'd; and the Senate had no other Loss to regret, than that of the two Consuls, snatch'd, as one may say, from the very Arms of Victory; who after having discharged their Duty, were kill'd in the Fight, (e) Authors differing about the Manner.

Augustus did not reap all the Fruit he expected from this Victory. *Pompey's* Party, which was very numerous, took fresh Courage upon the Defeat of *Anthony*, whom they hated for the Share he had in the Ruin of *Pompey the Great*: But as *Augustus* was no less odious to them, because being Adopted Son and Heir to *Julius Caesar*, they knew he must also be an Hereditary Enemy to the Posterity of *Pompey*, they caball'd together how to trick him out of the Recompence of his Labours. Nor yet were they to seek for plausible Reasons: But above all, the Publick Good serv'd as a Veil to cover their Private Resentment. They shew'd of what dangerous Consequence it was, to raise a Man too high; that by this means he might in time become Powerful enough to lord it over the Republick; that *Augustus*, under the fair Pretence of protecting the City, design'd nothing so much as Tyrannizing there; and that

(e) After the Battle of *Modena*, it was reported at *Rome*, that *Augustus* had contrived the Deaths of the two Consuls *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, that he might be sole Commander of the Armies. *Pansa's* Death especially look'd so suspicious, that *Glycon* the Physician was arrested by Order of the Senate upon their Apprehension that

he had poison'd that Gentleman's Wound, to make his Court to *Augustus*. Many believ'd that *Augustus* himself kill'd *Hirtius* in the Heat of the Fight; and if some alledg'd that *Augustus* was incapable of so foul an Action, others said there was nothing incredible of a Person of his prodigious Views and Ambition.

if

if the Senate understood their true Interest, they would guard on all sides against a Man, who as surely inherited *Cæsar's* Ambition, as he did his Name and his Fortune. These Arguments made such an Impression in the Minds of the *Romans*, that a Triumph was decreed in Honour of *Brutus* only, without any Mention of *Augustus*, to whom they moreover refused the Consulate, tho' he afterward obtain'd it by the Management of *Cicero*.

Augustus was extremely surprized to find the vast Expectations his Victory had given him, so scurvily answer'd. He charged the Senate with Ingratitude; urged that *Brutus* was only an idle Spectator of the Fight, whilst he had expos'd his Life as much as the meanest Soldier, and run a thousand Hazards in the Service of the Republick; and yet, that they had, by an unaccountable Decree, given *Brutus* that Honour which he could not help thinking he was robb'd of. This Proceeding of the Senate he could by no means digest; but resolv'd to do himself Justice in an Affair which to him seem'd so very unreasonable.

He was in this Track of Thinking, when *Lepidus*, at the Head of the Army from which *Mark Anthony* retired upon his Defeat, snatches the Opportunity of *Augustus's* Discontent which he had somewhere heard, and, to bring him to his Bow, advises him to beware of a Senate made up of Persons entirely devoted to the Family of *Pompey*, whose Memory was still Dear to them; that it behoved him rather to think of revenging his Father's Death, than of befriending those who had been his Murderers: And finding that these Arguments had the desired Effect, he * farther

propos'd to him to clap up a Peace with *Anthony*, and then all Three to join, and revenge themselves upon their Enemies. * Vell. Pat. lib. 2.

Augustus saw his Advantages and Satisfaction in these Proposals. *Lepidus*, distinguish'd by his

Birth, his Riches, and his Victories, which made him formidable to the Senate, had the Command of a great Army, and could therefore give a prodigious Weight to the Party he espoused. *Augustus* knew, that if he made Peace, he should have the Forces of that General and of *Anthony* at his Service, to mortify the Senate, by whom he thought himself ill used. And after all, he had then neither Troops nor Authority sufficient to compass his Designs without Assistance. In Compliance therefore with the Times and his own Necessity, he declares an Oblivion of all the Injuries he had receiv'd at the Hands of *Mark Anthony*, and offers him Peace; which is readily embraced. *Lepidus*, *Mark Anthony*, and *Augustus* met in a small (f) Island between *Perusa* and *Bologna*; where having embraced and given each other the most solemn Protestations of a sincere Friendship, they form'd the famous *Triumvirate*

(f) The River *Labinius*, or *Lavine*, washes the Territory of *Medena*, between *Perusa* and *Bologna*, and forms a little Island, which was pitch'd upon by *Lepidus* for the Place of Interview between *Mark Anthony* and *Augustus*. When they were all three come near the Isle, *Lepidus*, who was the Mediator, and in whose Probability the other Two entirely confided, went alone into the Island, to see if no Soldiers had hid themselves there, to the end they need not fear Surprise. Mean while, *Augustus* tarry'd upon the Bank of the River on one side, and *Mark Anthony* on the other, each at the Head of five Legions under Arms. As soon as *Lepidus* had view'd all Parts of the Island, he made a Signal, by holding up his Cloak, as had been agreed, for the two Generals to advance without Fear: Whereupon *Augustus* and *Anthony* left their Friends and their Troops at the Foot of the Bridge laid for this Interview, and march'd with equal Paces to the Middle of the Island, where they met. Now to take away all ground of Suspicion, they turn'd out their Pockets, to shew that they had no Arms conceal'd there; and after mutual Embraces, they all Three sat down in an open Place, that their Men might see them. *Augustus*, in Respect to his Dignity as Consul, was seated in the Middle, between *Lepidus* and *Anthony*. Their Conferences lasted three days, and terminated in the fatal *Triumvirate*.

which

which fill'd *Rome* with Blood. Every Article of this fatal Alliance tended to Cruelty. It was resolv'd, That they Three should take upon them the Government of the Republick with a Sovereign Authority: That there should be no more Consuls: That they should have the sole Disposal of every thing: That the Provinces and Legions should be divided among them: That War should be declared against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: And, that all their Enemies should be deliver'd up, to the end that each of them in particular might revenge the Injuries and Ill-Offices he pretended to have receiv'd. Lastly, to render this Treaty the more durable, it was agreed, That *Augustus* should marry *Clodia* Daughter-in-Law to *Anthony*, and Daughter to *Fulvia* by her first Husband *Clodius*.

This monstrous Project being thus concerted, immediately there appear'd at *Rome* a bloody List, containing the Names of Persons proscribed, or condemn'd to die, written in Capital Letters. Their Number increas'd every day; and many a Citizen, who over Night thought himself happy that his Name was not inserted in this terrible Catalogue, was convinced of his Mistake, by being dragg'd the next Morning to Execution. It was easy to add whom they pleas'd; and thus did the Fate of every *Roman* entirely depend on the Will of these Barbarians. Even the Dignities which till then were deem'd inviolable, proved a bootless *Asylum* for such as had them in Possession. Consuls, *Prators*, Tribunes, were seen upon their Knees at the Feet of their Slaves, imploring them not to betray them or discover their Lurking-Places! People were forbid, upon pain of Death, to harbour such as were proscribed, or to mourn their Loss. Pity was made Criminal in any that durst shew the least Token of it. Far from being indulged the Liberty of Tears,

they were not allow'd so much as a Sigh, the last Refuge of the Unfortunate; but after the Loss of all that is accounted Dear among Men, they were forced to make a Sacrifice of their very Sorrow. In a word, to such a Depth of Misery were they reduced, that happy was the Man could escape the Fury of these Three Tyrants.

Rome had never yet made so frightful a Figure. Nothing was to be heard there, but Noise and Confusion: Nothing to be seen, but Gallows, and Death, and Torrents of Blood. Never till now was *Rome* the Theater of such a Tragedy. Now return'd the horrible Times of *Marius* and *Sylla's* Proscription. Above a hundred and forty Senators, and two thousand Knights, were put to Death. Neither Age, nor Affinity; neither Innocence, nor Vertue, nor Friendship, were regarded: No Affinity, did I say? No, nor Service done. No Condition secured a Man from the Strokes of these Three Tyrants Cruelty, or their Avarice. The Ties of Blood were too weak to stop their Rage; in whom the Thirst of Revenge had perfectly extinguish'd Nature. Thus were *Lucius Caesar* Uncle to *Mark Anthony*, *Lucius Paulus* Brother to *Lepidus*, and *Torannius* Tutor to *Augustus*, proscribed among the rest; and that they did not lose their Lives, was owing to the Respect which the Executioners of the *Triumvirs* Fury bore them. Never had *Rome* so just, so melancholy an Occasion to shed Tears. She saw her Streets strew'd with the dead Bodies of her noblest Citizens. Scarce a House of any Consideration but receiv'd some Mark of the Tyrants Hatred and their Cruelty in Bloody Characters: And every day the *Rostra* was new stain'd with the Heads of the most illustrious and valuable *Romans*.

But the most deplorable and moving Sight of all, was, to * behold that of *Cicero* there! *Cicero*,
the

* *Vell. Paterc. Hist. lib. 2.*

the finest Orator the World ever produced, and the most zealous Defender that ever the Republic could boast, of its Liberties! † He fell a Sa-^{† Florus, lib. 4.} crifice to *Anthony's* Revenge, against whom he had so often declaim'd in the Senate, with an Eloquence almost ever victorious: And now that *Triumvir* was not ashamed to buy his Enemy's Blood at the Expence of his own, as we may call it; for he gave up his Uncle to *Augustus's* Resentment, for the sake of having *Cicero's* Head in Exchange. Never did Man take greater Pleasure in the Blood of his Enemy. *Anthony* would have return'd less satisfy'd, and less glorious in his own Eyes, from a Battle won, than from the Murder of *Cicero*: Nor could he better express the Weight of Joy he felt upon the Death of that formidable Enemy, than by the brutish Pleasure he was observ'd to take in viewing his Head, which he order'd to be brought to him, that he might be sure it was the right. *Fulvia* must also glut her Eyes with that most dismal Spectacle: As she could never revenge herself upon the Man whose powerful Invectives had so often excited the utmost of her Wrath and Malice, she took into her Hands that lifeless Head, which had still something Venerable in it; and after having rail'd at it for a while in the most bitter Terms, she gave herself the inhuman Pleasure of pricking his Tongue in a thousand Places with her Bodkin, for having so often thunder'd in the Senate against her Husband, and sometimes against (g) herself. Brutal Satisf-

(g) The Proscription of *Cicero* caus'd more Dispute in the *Triumvirate*, than any other Article. *Anthony* would not hearken to an Accommodation, unless the Death of that Orator was granted him. *Lepidus* readily came into it; but *Augustus* would not give

his Consent. He even stood it out the two first days; and upon the third he demanded in Return the Head of *Lucius Caesar*, Uncle to *Anthony*, not dreaming that this *Triumvir* would insist any longer upon *Cicero's* Death: But *Anthony* took *Augustus* at his Word,

faction!

* Hieron.
advers.
Rufin.

X faction! but * imitated since by an incestuous Princess upon the Tongue of the Greatest among the Children of Men.

These bloody Executions unpeopled *Rome*. As many as judg'd their Lives in Danger, fled the City; and *Callidianus*, the Father of *Livia*, with-

and sacrificed his own Uncle to him, for the sake of *Cicero's* Head. The Orator, who was with his Brother *Quintus Cicero*, at his Country-House near *Tusculum*, being inform'd of the Result of the *Triumvirs* Conference, resolv'd to go to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, and took his Brother along with him. But as they went away in a Hurry, they never thought of taking Money with them to defray the Expence of their Voyage: So that *Cicero* having little about him, and his Brother none at all, *Quintus*, as younger of the two, went back to his House for a Supply: Where being betray'd by his own Servants, both he and his Son were kill'd. *Cicero* embarked, and kept the Sea for some days; but whether he was sick, or whether he had yet Hopes that *Cesar*, who had so many Obligations to him, would not give him up, he made the Seamen put him on Shoar again, and travel'd toward *Rome*, still uncertain what Method to take; for he had sometimes Thoughts of meeting *Augustus* in private, and stabbing himself at his Feet. He changed his Mind, however, and return'd on board, with design to retreat to a Country-House of his near *Gaeta*. Here he rested but a Night; because his Domesticks judging him to be in Danger, obliged him to depart

and commit himself once more to the Waves. His Litter was hardly got two Miles from his House, when it was surrounded by Troops sent thither by *Mark Anthony*, under the Command of Captain *Herennius* and Centurion *Pompilius Lena*, the latter of whom *Cicero* had formerly defended against the Charge of Parricide, which had cost him his Life, but for the Eloquence and Protection of the Orator. Not a Servant would discover where *Cicero* was; nor is it likely the Fellows would have found him, had not *Philologus*, lately made Free by *Quintus*, and directed in Literature by *Cicero* himself, betray'd his Benefactor, and reveal'd the Secret of his Voyage and his Route. These *Satellites* had not far to run, to come up with *Cicero's* Litter; who no sooner heard the Noise of their Approach, but he order'd his Men to stop; and putting his Head out of the Litter, to see who they were, *Herennius* in a Brutal manner cut it off, and after it both his Hands, while the rest of the Assassins shut their Eyes, because they would not be Spectators of so cruel an Execution. As soon as *Anthony* saw it was *Cicero's* Head, he cry'd out, He would not trouble himself with any more Proscriptions; for that now his Revenge was entirely satisfy'd.

drew

drew among the rest, and went and join'd the Party of *Brutus* and *Cassius*: But this did not prove to him a Place of Safety. The *Triumviri* attack'd them in the Provinces whither they had retired, and prosecuted the War with such Success, that *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were call'd the two Last *Romans*, were entirely routed in the famous Battle of *Philippi*; upon which they kill'd each other, with the Resolution not to survive their Misfortunes.

We may affirm this to be the expiring Groan of the Republick of *Rome*. The Hope of Liberty died with these two Generals who had engaged in its Defence; and the Last day of *Brutus* was the First of *Rome's* Bondage. *Augustus* having made a new Partition with *Anthony*, wherein *Lepidus*, of whom they had conceiv'd some Jealousy, had no Share, return'd to *Rome*: And *Mark Anthony* went into *Asia*, to keep the Provinces in their Duty, and to chastise the Kings who had fallen in with the Designs of their Enemies.

Separated at the Distance of so many Seas and Countries, one would have thought it impossible for them to give Cause of Complaint or Dissatisfaction to each other: But between two such Ambitious Men, the Peace could not be long-lived. The natural Desire of ruling and governing without Controul, soon gave Birth to a new Rupture. *Augustus* carry'd his Views too far, to bear the Thoughts of a Competitor. *Anthony*, on the other hand, was as desirous as the other to be Sole Master; as if the whole Universe were too little to fill the boundless Views of two Men. Thus did their Jealousy grow up with their Ambition, till at last it turn'd to Rancour and Hatred; and then they wanted only a plausible Pretence to shew it, and to declare War.

Fulvia, *Mark Anthony's* Wife, was the fatal Spark that set Fire to these Combustibles. Know-
ing

ing how passionately her Husband lov'd *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, (b) whose Beauty made so much Noise in the World; she was seiz'd with such a Fury, as first deprived her of her Rest, and soon after of her Reason. She was not one that could think of a Faithless Husband with Unconcern, or bear Contempt with Patience and Impunity. Without Hesitation therefore, she determin'd to punish *Mark Anthony's* Inconstancy, by putting the very same Slight upon him, as she imagined he had done upon her. This was to carry her Resentment a prodigious Length; but the haughty, the impetuous *Fulvia* shew'd neither Reserve in her Hate, nor Thought in her Revenge. On the contrary, she carry'd both as far as ever the Rage of Woman could carry them.

Augustus was the Person she fix'd her Eyes upon to revenge her Husband's Infidelity in the way of Reprizal; and without considering what might be the Consequences of her Passion, she disclosed it to him with all the Symptoms of Violence. Nay, that her Vengeance might no longer sleep, she condescended to save the Object of her Love the Trouble which Custom and Decency required from him, and made herself the first Overture, attacking him with Signals of the most outrageous Passion. But oh the shameful Mortification for *Anthony's* Wife! *Augustus*, captivated, no doubt, by other Pleasures, despises those so bluntly

(b) *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, was reckon'd a perfect Beauty; and had an unaccountable way of insinuating herself with those she had a mind to please. *Julius Caesar* fell in Love with her, and had a Son by her, named *Cæsarion*. *Pompey's* eldest Son was also her Admirer. And *Mark Anthony* afterward enjoy'd as well as lov'd her;

which cost him his Empire and his Life. Some say, after all, that *Cleopatra* had not a real Affection for any of those Great Personages, but was much better inclined to *Dellius*, a Friend and Confident of *Mark Anthony's*. She had a Son and a Daughter by *Mark Anthony*; who went by the Names of the *Sun* and the *Moon*.

offer'd

offer'd him by *Fulvia*; and to the Contempt adds Insult. He passes Jest upon *Fulvia's* Weakness, so much the more insupportable, as they soon appear'd abroad in (i) Epigrams, which he took care to disperse all over the City, giving a concise Account of her nauseous Behaviour. And because she should not think his Insensibility proceeded from any Scruple upon the score of his marrying her Daughter *Clodia*, he divorced her, and sent her home with this Message: That he return'd her as good a Virgin as he found her. He afterward marry'd *Scribonia*, Daughter to *Scribonius Libo*, and Widow of two former Consuls.

It is easy to believe what a Rage *Fulvia* was in, when she came seriously to consider with herself, and to reflect upon her Weakness thus exposed, and thus exaggerated by the Contempt *Augustus* had put upon it. Her Love now gave place to her Wrath: She breathed nothing but Fury and Revenge; swore to *Augustus's* Destruction; and wish'd nothing so ardently as an Opportunity to set about it. Her Jealousy, on the other hand, came in to the Relief of her Hatred: For, imagining that *Anthony*, immersed in the Pleasures of *Egypt*, would never more think of her, she judg'd the surest way to wrest him out of the Hands of *Cleopatra*, would be to put him under the Necessity of coming to make Head against *Augustus*. Nor was it long before this General open'd a Way to the Execution of her Project. He had formerly propos'd to divide among his Legions the Lands promised them in Recompence for their Services; but *Fulvia* would not consent to it, for fear those Largeesses should alienate the Minds of the Soldiery from *Anthony's* Service; and * insisted, that that Distribution

* *Sueton.*
in *Aug.*

(i) See the Collection of *nius Arbiter*; and also *Martial's* Epigrams.

could

* Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

could not be made in the Absence of her Husband, whose Return they must therefore wait. *Augustus*, whether he would not give Occasion for a Rupture, or whether it was out of Complaisance to *Fulvia*, * left things as they were, and contented himself with amusing the Troops by fair Promises for a while; but no sooner had he broke with *Fulvia*, than resolving not to keep Measures with her, he gave the Legions all that they desired.

† Dio,
lib. 48.

|| Sueton.
in Aug.

This was, as one may call it, Sounding the Trumpet to War. *Fulvia*, who, beside the Pride and Obstinacy of her Sex, † had a vast deal of Fire and Spirit, and was to the last degree incens'd against *Cæsar*, fill'd the City with Confusion. || She obliged her Brother-in-Law *Lucius Antonius*, and all her Husband's Friends and Partisans, to recur to Arms. Nothing was now to be seen but Commotion; the whole City divided into Factions; and because that of *Augustus*, animated by the Presence of its Chief, appear'd to be the most Powerful, those who were for *Mark Anthony* quitted Rome, to join *Lucius Antonius*, who was retired to *Perusa*. *Tiberius Nero* went thither among the rest; but when he found that *Augustus* struck Terror throughout *Italy*, he departed in Haste, and went to join *Mark Anthony* on the side of *Sicily*.

His Wife *Livia* was in this Voyage, or rather in this Flight, attended with so many Dangers: For *Augustus's* Troops quarter'd in the Neighbourhood of Rome, no sooner heard of *Tiberius's* going off, but they march'd into the Country, and made diligent Search for him on all sides, to sacrifice him to their General's Resentment; and they pursued him so close, that it was impossible for them to have miss'd him near *Naples*, had not the Night, and *Tiberius's* Wisdom in not keeping the Great Roads, but picking out all the obscure and

and difficult Ways he could, deliver'd himself, his Wife, and little *Tiberius* their Son, from the Soldiers Fury. Neither was this the only Risque they had to run in their precipitate Flight. After they had escaped the Perils of the Sea, and wander'd thro' *Sicily* and *Achaia*, they * carry'd ^{Sueton. in Tib.} their Child to *Lacedamon*, which was under the Protection of the *Claudians*. Forced to depart hence in the Night, and that very hastily too, they cross'd the Woods thereabout, with a thousand dismal Frights: For they found themselves often surrounded with Flames, which once catch'd hold of *Livia's* Hair and her Robe, but without hurting either her, or the Child in her Arms.

† This Part of *Livia's* History hath given an- ^{† Vell. Pat. terc. Hist. lib. 2. Dio, l. 18.} cient Authors Scope for many Reflexions upon the Vicissitude of Fortune, whose surprizing Turns should prepare us to receive sometimes the Contrary of what we expect, and frequently to hope what we ought not in Reason to have: For *Livia*, forced to cross whole Provinces by dismal and wearisome Paths, flies in perpetual Alarms the Man who is shortly to be her Husband; while the Soldiers scour the Country to take away his Life who is one day to be their Master.

Mean time, *Fulvia* dies in the *East*, whither she went on purpose to rowze *Anthony's* Courage and his Vigour: And as she had been the unhappy Instrument of kindling this new War, the common Friends of *Augustus* and *Anthony* found it no difficult matter to reconcile them to (k) Peace.

(k) After *Fulvia's* Decease, Matters were accommodated between *Augustus* and *Mark Anthony* by the Interposition of *Mecænas* on one side, and *Cocceius Nerva* and *Fonteius Capito* on the other. These Mediators met at *Terracina*, where the Poet *Horace* happen'd to see their Arrival, be-

ing on his way to *Brundisium*.

Subimus

Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur.

Huc venturus erat Mecænas optimus, atque

Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque

Levati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 1.

To

To render which the more solid and lasting, when the Interests of the *Triumvirate* were settled, Care was taken of young *Pompey*; and all things being amicably adjusted, *Octavia*, Sister to *Augustus*, and Widow of *Marcellus*, was to be the Cement of this new Alliance. *Mark Anthony* marry'd her at *Rome*, where the *Espousals* were celebrated with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence. Nothing was neglected, that could conduce to an Oblivion of the late Calamities. Shews, Feasts, and Diversions were the Fruit of this Marriage. Those who had fled the City, were deliver'd from their Fears, and return'd; and *Tiberius Nero*, among others, brought back his Wife *Livia* to *Rome*.

She was then in the Prime of her Beauty, which receiv'd no small Lustre from her witty Conversation, that render'd her the Life and Soul of the Company where-ever she came. She was indeed a Lady of the most polite and genteel Carriage, which was even natural to her. If she had an Air of Loftiness, she knew how to temper it with the easiest Affability, which she always adjusted to the Merit and Character of the Person who address'd her. All these good Qualities, which were to be found in no one Woman beside *Nero's* Wife, made *Augustus* sensible of this Lady's Deserts. His Passion was too strong, his Emotion too visible, not to be remark'd. The famous

And a little lower :

— *Interea Mecœnas ad-
venit, atque
Cocceius, Capitoque simul
Fonteius ad unguem
Factus homo, Antoni, non ut
magis alter, amicus.*

We shall elsewhere give an Account of *Mecœnas*. *Cocceius*, surnamed *Nerva*, was a celebrated Lawyer of a very good Family; for *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian* in the Empire, is taken

to be descended from it. He was always in Esteem with *Augustus*. *Fonteius Capito* was the greatest Friend *Mark Anthony* had, and the politest Roman of the Age he liv'd in. And as both of them had the general Reputation of Men of Integrity, they were often employ'd to make up Differences between Persons whom Interest or Honour had divided: *Aversos soliti componere amicos.*

* Treat

* Treat he gave his Friends, upon account of cutting off his Beard for the first time, was attributed to this new Flame; and 'tis certain that he always kept himself close shaved to please the charming (l) *Livia*. * Dio; lib. 58.

It is probable, that she did not long permit *Augustus* to languish under the dismal Circumstance of loving in vain, notwithstanding the Pains a certain * Author has taken to persuade us she did. 'Tis believ'd on the contrary, that she soon gave him the dearest Tokens of her Affection. *Livia* was ambitious; and *Tiberius's* moderate Fortune could no longer support her Vanity. *Augustus*, on the other hand, had no Superior; nor did he despair of ridding himself of the only Rival that could dispute his Power already in effect absolute. Beside, ‡ *Cesar's* Merit ‡ *Sueton;* was hardly to be withstood. § He was a handsome Man; middle-sized indeed, but so well proportion'd, that † he did not look short, unless he stood by a tall Person. || He was then in the Flower of his Age, had a fine fair Head of Hair naturally curling, a *Roman* Nose, and Eyes so quick and sparkling, that as a Soldier told him one day, it dazzled one's Eyes to look him in the Face. His Countenance was a Mixture of Majesty and Sweetness, which commanded the Love and Respect of all that approach'd him. Neither did the Excellencies of his Mind fall short of those of his Person. He was good-natur'd, gra- * Tacit. Annal 5. c. 1.
in Aug.
§ Eutrop. de gest. Rom.
† Aurel. Victor. Epitom.
|| Dio, lib. 48.

(l) It was a Custom among the *Romans* to make a great Entertainment upon the day their Beards were first shaved. This Feast was call'd *Barbatoria*; and all the Friends of the Person shaved were invited to it. Moreover, they preserv'd the Hair of this Beard with wonderful Superstition.

We read that *Nero* lock'd his up in a Golden Box, and dedicated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. They usually shaved for the first time upon the day they put on the *Toga Virilis*, tho' some not so soon. *Uno atque eodem die Togam surripit, Barbamque deposuit.* Suet. in Caio.

E

cious,

cious, affable; merry and facetious in Conversation; polite in all his Carriage and Expressions; and faithful to his Friend. With all these Advantages, and the finest Fortune in the World added to them, *Augustus* could not long torment *Livia* with the Liberty to be cruel to him. She gave Ear to *Cæsar* therefore; and her Charms rendering *Scribonia's* sullen and fantastical Humour insupportable to him, who was not pleas'd with her before, on the account of her Jealousy and Uneasiness, he divorced her the very day she lay in of *Julia*: And calling in his Power to the Assistance of his Inclination, he sent to *Nero* to desire he would surrender his Wife to him. It is not very clear, that this was done by *Livia's* Consent; but there is good ground to believe, that the Choice of that ambitious Lady lying between her Duty and her Fortune, between *Cæsar Augustus* and *Tiberius Nero*, she was not long in declaring herself, and taking the Richest side.

She was then six Months gone with Child, suspected to be of *Augustus's* getting; and by the Roman Laws, Women were * forbid to marry again till Ten Months after their Husbands Decease, or as long after a Divorce, to avoid Confusion in Families by the † Uncertainty of the Birth, Condition, and Quality of the Children. *Augustus* pretended to be very scrupulous upon this Article, affecting the utmost § Reverence to the Authority of the Laws. He call'd an Assembly of the College of *Pontiffs*, to ask them, whether it was lawful for him to marry a Woman with Child; nay, that he might have nothing to reproach himself withall, as he pretended, he would have *Apollo* and the Gods consulted. The Oracles and the *Pontiffs* answer'd in his Favour: And thus, his Scruples being eas'd, and his Doubts removed, he marries *Livia Drusilla*, whose Enemy he had been but just before, and commands

Tiberius,

* *Dio,*
lib. 48.

† *Senec.*
de Conso-
lat.

§ *Prudent.*

Tiberius, as if he had been his Father, to give her to him. The Nuptials were celebrated with a sumptuous Feast, to which *Nero* was one of the first invited as a Guest.

The pleasant Humour of one of those arch young Rogues, who being admired for their Prating, were frequently kept by the Roman Ladies for their Diversion, made the Company very merry. * As they were all at Table, this little * *Dio*; Boy observ'd that *Livia* sat by *Augustus*, and *Ti-* lib. 48.
berius Nero next to a Gentleman on the other side of the Table. *Is that your Place, Madam?* said he very bluntly. *Ought not you to sit by your Husband?* pointing to *Nero*. These simple Questions, put by a Child, furnish'd Entertainment for the Company good part of the Repast; after which, *Augustus* took his Leave, and went off with *Livia*.

She had been at her new Spouse's but three Months, when she was deliver'd of a Son, who was named *Claudius Drusus Nero*. *Augustus* sent him to *Tiberius Nero*, and would not have him kept at his House, because People should not think he was his Father: And he † enter'd in † *Sueton*; his Journal, that his Wife *Livia* being deliver'd in *Aug*.
of a Son, he sent him to *Tiberius Nero*, his Father. But this Precaution did not hinder Peoples Conjectures, who would yet believe young *Drusus* was his Son; and among other Jokes upon this Occasion, one was, that with § Fortunate Men, § *Dio*,
like *Augustus*, every thing prosper'd; for they lib. 48.
could have Children at Three Months End: Which pass'd afterward into a Proverb.

However, *Cæsar's* || Marriage with *Livia* when || *Plutarc*.
she was with Child, did not want for Precedents. *Vit. Pomp*.
† *Pompey* espoused *Æmilia*, Daughter to *Æmilius* † *Vit. Cæ*.
Scaurus, when actually another Man's Wife, and *ton*.
with Child. *Caro Uticensis*, after he had had several Children by his Wife *Martia*, would not refuse her to his Friend *Hortensius*; and took her

home again when that Orator died. *Cato* was reflected upon, as if he parted with his Wife because she was poor, and took her again when she was grown rich. But let that go as it will; *Octavia*, Sister to *Augustus*, was likewise with Child by *Marcellus*, when *Mark Anthony* marry'd her.

* *Entrop.*
* *de Gest.*
* *Roman.*
* *lib. 7.*
† *Dio,*
† *lib. 48.*

Affairs were in this Situation at *Rome*, when * *Pompey* and *Augustus* fell out about Trifles, and threw the Republick once more into dire Convulsions. † *Cæsar* betray'd enough of Indiscretion in the Management of the War; which was not always therefore attended with Success. He twice saw his Navy defeated, and was obliged to refit it with much Labour and Expence. *Lepidus*, whom he had call'd in to his Assistance, shew'd some Treachery in his Conduct; and *Augustus*, to guard against him, was twice very near falling into the Hands of *Pompey's* Lieutenants. But his Misfortunes did not end there: He was routed at Sea upon the Coast of *Sicily*; where he not only lost half his Fleet, but was a long time before he could find a Place of Refuge; so that he must have been infallibly ruin'd, had *Pompey*, whose giddy Valour was blown up, as it were, with these fair Beginnings, known how to improve his Advantages, instead of letting Victory slip out of his Hands.

These bad Tidings fill'd *Livia* with terrible Alarms, and furnish'd her Matter of serious Reflexion. She consider'd, That the Events of War are always dubious: That *Pompey*, to whom Fortune now seem'd to be reconciled, was a Man whose very Name was lov'd at *Rome* and in the Armies: That *Augustus* could not reasonably depend upon *Anthony's* Promises, who was govern'd more by Love and Caprice, than by Reason and true Interest: That Fortune, which had hitherto smiled on *Augustus*, might at last turn her Back upon him, and shew him her Reverse. All these
Confi-

Considerations made her pass many a melancholy Hour. On the other hand, * nothing was talk'd of at *Rome*, but frightful Prodigies, monstrous Signs, and uncommon Prefages. *Livia*, for her part, had need of one not less Consolatory, than that which put an end to her Uneasiness, tho' it was to others at the same time a Subject of Fear.

She was going one day to her Country-House near *Rome*, when an Eagle that had just snatch'd up a Hen with a small Laurel-Branch in her Beak, happen'd to drop her gently in *Livia's* Lap. All who pretended to the Art of Divination agreed, that this surprizing Accident promis'd *Livia* no less than the Supreme Power; and that she might be assured the Laurel-Branch was a Prognostication from the Gods, that her Posterity should acquire a great deal of Glory. An Augury so auspicious touch'd *Livia* to the quick. She nourish'd with her utmost Care the two Objects of this agreeable Divination; and particularly the † Hen; which proved so fruitful, that from the Eggs she laid, and the Chickens she hatch'd, the Village where they were bred, was call'd the *Village of Chickens*: And the Laurel-Branch, which she planted, was cultivated with so much Industry, that in a few Years it was capable of furnishing Boughs to crown the Victors in their Triumphs.

It was not long before *Livia* had the Pleasure of seeing an Overture to the Accomplishment of these Predictions, in the Victory which *Augustus* obtain'd over *Pompey*: The two Fleets met, and engaged so vigorously, that it proved as bloody a Battle, perhaps, as ever was heard of. Each Fleet consisted of about 400 Sail, and look'd like a Floating City in the Sea. *Agrippa* was General for *Augustus*; and did all that a Brave Man could do to vanquish his Enemy; as, on the other hand, *Pompey's* Lieutenant *Demochares*

did all that could be expected from a Commander of his Experience and Abilities, to force Victory to declare for him. Long did they fight with doubtful Success, and hold it out with so much Heat and Courage, and obstinate Fury, that to the Armies, which stood upon the Shoar and saw the Action, the Sea seem'd to be changed into Blood. Thousands of Soldiers were struggling with the Waves, and thousands of dead Bodies floating upon the Surface amidst innumerable Wrecks; while Fortune was at a loss which Side to take; or else being in Sport, she would not declare till she had given herself the Pleasure of trying the Generals Abilities, and seeing them dispute the Prize to the last.

Augustus and *Pompey* were on Shoar with their Armies, anxious Spectators of the Combat; which being for ever to decide their Fate, they were in violent Agitations to know the Event. A profound Silence kept both Sides quiet, so long as the Victory was uncertain; but when *Agrippa* had the good Luck to sink some of *Pompey's* Ships, *Augustus's* Troops perceiving the Advantage, made a great Shout, which dishearten'd *Pompey's*, and open'd the Way to Victory. In short, this Accident gave such a Turn to the Chance of the Day, that *Pompey's* Fleet was defeated, *Demochares* kill'd himself in Despair, and *Pompey* soon after died by the Hands of an infamous Assassin, who deliver'd *Augustus* from that formidable Enemy.

Never did Victor improve his Advantages to so Cruel a purpose. As this War had kept him in perpetual Alarms and Inquietudes, he gave himself up to Resentment against most of the Senators and Knights who had join'd with *Pompey*; and putting them to Death, foil'd his Triumph with the Blood of the Greatest Men in the Republick. He afterward dealt some Liberality among his Troops; and of the Honours offer'd him

him by the Senate, accepted only the Privilege granted to his Wife *Livia*, and his Sister *Octavia*, to dispose of their Estates; and the Decree whereby their Persons were declared, in all future times, sacred and inviolable, like those of the *Tribunes*. When he had settled his Affairs at *Rome*, he * march'd against *Mark Anthony*, with * *Sueton.* whom he had newly broke; and gave him an entire Defeat in the famous † Battle of *Actium*; † *Horat.* upon the Loss whereof, *Anthony* made away with *Od. 37.* himself in the Height of Despair, occasion'd by *lib. 1.* (m) *Cleopatra*, who follow'd his Example.

This Victory restored Calm to the Republick, Peace to the Empire, and the Sovereignty of the Universe to *Augustus*. He return'd to *Rome*,

(m) When *Cleopatra* found that Fortune smiled upon *Augustus*, she was the first that betray'd *Mark Anthony*, tho' she had been the sole Cause of his Wo. She secretly deliver'd up the City of *Pelusium* to the Conqueror, and made several of *Anthony's* Ships desert and join *Augustus's* Party. *Anthony* well knew that *Cleopatra* betray'd him; but yet he so lov'd her, he could wish her no Harm. Thus he fell a Sacrifice to his Passion. For *Cleopatra* flattering herself, that she could make *Augustus* sensible either of her Beauty or her Services, gave out a Report that she had put herself to Death; not doubting but *Anthony* would resolve not to survive her, and so she should rid *Augustus* of that powerful Competitor. This Stratagem succeeded; for *Mark Anthony* loved *Cleopatra* notwithstanding her base Perfidiousness, and no sooner heard she was dead, but drawing his Sword, he sheathed it in his own Body.

However, being told, as soon as he had done it, that his Mistress was living, he repented that he had given himself the fatal Blow that was to separate him and the Object of his Love. He order'd them to put him in a Basket, and carry him to the Tower where *Cleopatra* was: Which they did accordingly, and there he died in her Arms. Mean time, *Cleopatra* had discover'd, that *Augustus* fed her with vain Hopes, only to reserve her for his Triumph, which she fear'd worse than Death: Wherefore, seeing she could not win that *Roman's* Love, she resolv'd to lose her own Life. She dress'd herself in her richest Suit of Cloaths, and lay down upon a magnificent Bed, where she was found dead. As several small Pricks appear'd upon her Arm, she is supposed either to have got an Asp to bite her, or else to have prick'd herself with the Point of her Bodkin poison'd.

preceded by the Clangor of his Triumph, follow'd by the Acclamations of the People, and loaded with Laurel and Honours. He was receiv'd every where, and especially at *Rome*, with the Respect due to the Lord of the Globe; and his * Triumph, which out-did all that ever went before it, lasted three days successively, with all manner of Diversions, Feasts, Shews, and other Rejoicings; a happy Change for the Floods of Tears that their frequent Wars had occasion'd! The Senate exerted their Liberality in conferring Dignities and honourable Titles upon *Cæsar*. He was created Consul, Tribune, and Censor; proclaim'd Father of his Country; made Chief Pontiff; and † honour'd with the new Appellation of † *Augustus*, as if he had somewhat in common with the Gods; which indeed the Poets did not scruple to insinuate in their Compositions, which are so many scandalous Monuments of their Flattery and Impiety.

* *Sucton.*
Florus,
Dio, &
alii.

† *Horat.*
Od. 3. l. 2.

‡ *Tacit.*
Annal. 1.

§ *Tit. Liv.*
Florus.

From this time may the Reign of *Augustus* justly date its Commencement. || The City resumed a new Face, and the State a new Form. The Republick was changed into an effectual Monarchy. All submitted to this new Yoak. The most jealous People of Liberty, that the World ever knew, were reduced to the most abject Slavery; and the *Romans*, who in the Infancy of their Republick had, out of their barbarous Zeal, sacrificed even their Children without Mercy, to its Interest, now made § Vows to sacrifice their Lives for the Safety of those who trampled that very Liberty under foot, in whose Defence they had resolutely incurr'd the Name of Parricides. (n) The Senate, whose Decrees were before held

(n) After *Junius Brutus*, above mention'd, had driven *Tarquin the Proud* from *Rome*, he receiv'd Information that that Prince had a secret Correspondence with several Persons of Quality in the City, who had a mind to restore

in

in the highest Veneration, now model'd their Acts according to the Pleasure of the Prince. Most of the Members who had the Publick Good at Heart, being swept away by the Fury of the Wars, that House was now compos'd only of a few dastardly Souls, that had not Courage to stem the Torrent. Indeed the Majority of them consisted of young Men, who having never tasted the Sweets and Advantages of Liberty, had no Notion of the Weight of the Yoak they bore. And thus we may bid Adieu to Freedom in their Votes, and Justice in their Deliberations. Honesty was crush'd by Fear. The Laws lost their Authority. The Prince was the only Oracle consulted; and the mercenary Suffrages of the selfish Senators were always conformable to the Will of their Sovereign, who bought them for Rewards, which they basely prefer'd to their Integrity.

The Provinces regulated their Conduct by what was done at *Rome*. Tired out with so many Wars, of which they had been the fatal Victims, thro' the Vexations of the Governors, who, to enrich themselves, stuck at no sort of Violence or Rapine; they chose rather to be under the Obedience of an Emperor, than of Men sent among them by the Senate, whose Authority they dreaded. Thus was this new Empire every where received without Opposition: Nay, the Foreign Kings strove which should out-do the other in Tenders of their Submission to *Augustus*, and endeavour'd to merit his Good-Will, by disputing, as it were, which of them should be the first to pay him Obedience. They erected

him to the Throne; and that his own two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, were among the forwardest of them. Hereupon, he immediately orders them to be seiz'd; and after they

had been severely scourged, he caus'd them to be beheaded in his Presence, to shew the People, that in him Love of his Country prevail'd above Natural Affection.

Triumphal

Triumphal Arches, and built Cities, to his Honour; and gave him the most glaring Proofs of their Respect and Dependence.

(o) *Herod*, King of *Judaea*, was one of the busiest of them all, in displaying his Magnificence to do Honour to *Cæsar*. That Prince, the greatest Politician of his Time, had been, of all *Anthony's* Friends, the most Faithful, and the most Zealous; and when that *Triumvir* was defeated, every body look'd upon *Herod* as ruin'd, because *Augustus* bore an immortal Grudge to those who had supported, or even countenanced the Arms of his Enemy. But the *Jewish* Monarch, who never wanted Presence of Mind upon the most urgent Occasions, knew perfectly well how to retrieve by his Prudence the ill Condition of his Affairs, which his Adherence to the Interests of *Anthony* had very much worsted; and he found in his great Genius a Resource for his Misfortunes. He went and waited upon *Augustus* at *Rhodes*; and having cast his Crown, his Royal Robes, and other *Regalia*, at his Feet; and retaining nothing of the Monarch, but his Majesty and Greatness of Soul, he address'd the Emperor in Terms to this effect: "I frankly own to your Majesty, that I assisted *Mark Anthony* with Men, with Money, and Advice; and that I should have serv'd

* *Joseph.*
* *Antiq.*
* *Judaic.*
* *lib. 15.*

(o) This was *Herod the Great*, famous for the cruel Massacre of the Children at *Bethlehem*, in which barbarous Execution he thought to have included the SAVIOUR of the World, whom the *Magi* were seeking under the Title of *King of the Jews*, then newly born. 'Tis reported that *Herod* was so inhuman, as not to except his own Son out of the Slaughter of those poor Innocents; which being told the Emperor

Augustus, he answer'd with a Smile, that he had rather be *Herod's* Hog, than his Son. But this is not the only Action which *Augustus* did not approve in *Herod*: For we read, that upon some Occasion of Distaste which that King had given to *Augustus*, the Emperor wrote to him, that till then he had us'd him like a Friend but for the future he must expect to be treated like a Subject,

him

" him in Person, had I not been engaged in ano-
 " ther War. I did not abandon him after his
 " Defeat, may it please your Majesty; *added*
 " *he, with a great deal of Freedom*; nor did my
 " Affection vary with his Fortune: But on the
 " contrary, still attach'd to his Interests, I en-
 " deavour'd to prevent his Ruin, by giving him
 " Counsel no less prudent than cordial, which
 " if he had pursued, perhaps it might have been
 " happy for him. I advis'd him to abandon
 " *Cleopatra*, who, I told him, was the greatest and
 " most dangerous Enemy he had to deal with;
 " to rally the scatter'd Remains of his Forces;
 " and to try once more to retrieve his Affairs.
 " If my constant Adherence to *Mark Anthony*,
 " who honour'd me with his Friendship, and
 " heap'd so many Obligations upon me, is to be
 " reckon'd a Crime; I acknowledge before your
 " Majesty, that I am the Guilty Person. Every
 " honest Man would have acted as I did: For
 " should we be Faithless and Ungrateful to our
 " Benefactors? It is not, at least, my Character:
 " I know too well the Returns that Gratitude
 " obliges to. This your Majesty may experi-
 " ence, *concluded he*, if you will please only to
 " substitute yourself in the Place of *Mark An-*
 " *thony*; for you will find in *Herod* the same
 " Zeal, the same Fidelity and Affection for you,
 " as he formerly had for your Enemy."

These fine Sentiments took with *Augustus*. He
 not only pardon'd *Herod*, but * confirm'd him in * *Niceph.*
 the Kingdom of *Judaea*, with the Addition of *Callist.*
 several other Cities; and admiring the Greatness *lib. 1. c. 6.*
 of his Courage, and his Firmness at a Time *cap. 9.*
 when he had so much Reason to apprehend the
 Consequences, he took such a Liking to him,
 that next to *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, he was the
 most particularly honour'd with his Friendship.
Herod, like an able Courtier, was very careful to
 cultivate

cultivate it. He built a Town, which he named (p) *Cæsarea* in Honour to *Cæsar*, and erected in it two stately Temples. * He instituted Games to add to this Emperor's Glory, with considerable Prizes for the Victors; and *Livia* being desirous to contribute something thereto out of her own Stock, sent several rich Presents from *Rome*, valued at about 500 Talents.

* *Joseph.*
Antiq.
Judaic.
l. 16. c. 9.

It was not to *Augustus* singly, that all these Honours were paid; *Livia* partook of what were decreed to him, and had particular ones for herself beside. † They built a Town, and call'd it after her Name *Livias*. The Senate pronounced a thousand study'd Speeches in her Praise: She was honour'd with the most pompous Titles, and had the glorious Appellation of *Augusta*, and *Mother of her Country*. The ‡ Poets celebrated her in their Compositions; and, by a sacrilegious Excess of Flattery, made a Goddess of her. Temples were built, and Altars erected to her; and thus did they deify the most Ambitious Woman upon Earth. Vile Condescension! which gave Occasion for the Saying afterward, that since they had decreed Divine Honours to the Ladies, they knew not how to worship the Gods.

† *Gualter.*
Monum.
Sicil.

‡ *Horat.*
Od. 14. l. 3.
Ovid. de
Pont. El. 1. 1.
Prudent.
lib. 1. in
Symmach.
Tacit.
Annal. 1.
c. 10.

¶ *Dio,*
lib. 54.

§ *Ovid.*
Fast. 1.

Augustus also shew'd his Love and Esteem for *Livia*, by a Stretch of his Magnificence upon her Account: || He caus'd a House in the *Via Sacra*, or *Sacred Street*, formerly belonging to *Pollio*, and standing upon so large a Spot of Ground, that it resembled a little Town, to be § stript of the rich Furniture put into it by the Princess *Julia*; and then pull'd it down, to erect upon its Ruins a stately Portico, which he dedicated to

(p) This was upon the Ruins of the City of *Acaron*, or *Ekron*, whose Inhabitants were punish'd with so sore a Distress after the Taking of the Ark.

(q) *Livia.*

(q) *Livia*. But beside these Publick Marks of his Esteem, *Augustus* gave her such also as were Private and Domestick. He carry'd himself to her with the greatest Compaissance imaginable; always paid a just Regard to her Advice; study'd every thing that could contribute to her Satisfaction; and in short gave her a more absolute Authority than his own.

It must be confess'd, that all this was no more than due to the Endearing Manner in which *Livia* constantly behaved, and to the Affection she always shew'd him. She knew how to give this so near a Resemblance to sincere Love, tho' in Truth there was a great Mixture of Art in it, that the Emperor did not perceive, till very late, that *Livia's* Fondness of him was not without an Allay of Policy and Design. † She never gave herself the least Uneasiness upon the score of *Augustus's* Intrigues; but instead of thwarting his Pleasures with the perpetual Disquietudes of Jealousy, she rather indulged his Amorous Taste; tho' without pretending that this Indulgence to her Spouse authorized any such Liberty in herself.

† *Xiphil.*
in Aug.
Dio, l. 48.

(q) *Disce tamen, veniens
etas: ubi Livia nunc est
Porticus immensa tecta fu-
isse domus.*

Pollio was made Free by *Augustus*, and had the Honour to be promoted to the Equestrian Order. 'Tis reported of him, that having one day invited the Emperor to Dinner, one of his Slaves happen'd thro' Carelessness to break a Crystal Dish; at which *Pollio* in a Rage order'd the poor Fellow to be cast Head foremost into the Fish-Pond, where he said he would make delicate Food for his *Lampreys*. The Slave threw himself at *Augustus's* Feet, and implored him to

procure his Pardon: The Emperor did all he could; but in vain. *Pollio* was so far from granting his Request, that the Brute would not have the Complaisance for *Cesar* to change the Nature of the Punishment, by letting him die some other Way. *Augustus* was shock'd at so cruel and unmannerly a Rebuff, and thought it very hard-hearted in *Pollio* not to give the poor Wretch the Privilege of choosing his own Death. Wherefore, he order'd all the Crystal Vessels that *Pollio* had, to be brought before them; which being done, he broke them to pieces before his Face.

Thus

Thus she always kept fair with *Terentia*, Wife to *Mecænas*, of whom *Augustus* was passionately enamour'd: And tho' in her Heart *Livia* could have nothing but Envy and Hatred of her, because she robb'd her of *Cæsar's* Affection; yet did she comport herself with that Modesty and Reserve, in all those Bickerings and Disputes which their Emulation frequently occasion'd, that she plainly shew'd by her Moderation, her Respect, as I may call it, to *Augustus's* Passion, in the Person of her Rival. Far from affecting that rigid and austere Vertue which renders People inaccessible, she never deny'd herself those Pleasures, which her Rank and an honest Freedom entitl'd her to; but went to all the Assemblies and Diversions then common enough in *Rome*, and vary'd, as well as procur'd, at the Expence of *Augustus* and the principal Lords of his Court. Sometimes they had Games; at other times Races; and at other times Shews; at which appear'd all the Persons of Quality or Consideration in the City, assiduously making their Court to the Empress; who always carry'd herself so discreetly, and kept so good a Guard upon her Reputation, that tho' the World might not have that vast Opinion altogether of her Vertue, as they had of *Lucretia's*, yet it was never in the Power of Malice to discover the least Flaw in her Conduct. Tho' she was neither finical nor unsociable, and had doubtless a particular Esteem for particular Men; yet * she took care to have it believ'd her Sentiments went no farther. She was often heard to say, that a wise Woman needs to call in no Aid to the Maintenance of her Vertue: And once when it was propos'd to put some young Persons to Death for presenting themselves naked before her, she interpos'd and sav'd their Lives, alledging that a naked Man made no more Impression than a Statue, upon the Imagination of

* Dio,
lib. 48.

a vertuous Woman. Politicks were this Lady's peculiar Talent; infomuch that History affords very few Examples of Women who dealt in them with greater Skill or better Success. The Subtlest Observators could never penetrate the deep Recesses of her Soul; but *Augustus* himself, with all his Cunning, proved at last the Dupe of his Empress. She saw well his *Foible*, and turn'd it to that Advantage, as gave her an entire Ascendent over him, which nothing could ever defeat. Thus *Cæsar*, Lord of the Universe, was, properly speaking, *Livia's* Slave. And hence the unlimited Authority of that Empress; that formidable Power, to which Men paid a most extravagant and sacrilegious Homage, and buoy'd her up in the presumptuous Idea she had conceiv'd of her Grandeur. Nevertheless, those excessive Honours, which were so delicious a Bait for her Vanity; that blind Submission, which all the World paid her; this Advancement, and these Dignities, were not sufficient fully to satisfy her Ambition. The Throne of the Empire, the highest Post ever yet fill'd by Mortal Man, could not answer up to the Capacity of her Desires. She accounted it as nothing to be seated there with *Augustus*: She would have her Posterity advanced to it also; and this was the grand Project which exercised all her Thoughts and her Politicks. By her Interest, the Offices of chief Distinction, and the Employs of greatest Importance in the State, were conferr'd upon her two Sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*. They had the Command of the Armies and Legions, always vested with the Emperor's Authority; and for every inconsiderable Service they did the Empire, *Livia* extoll'd them with magnificent Reports spread abroad by her Emissaries, and procured them more pompous and costly Triumphs, than their Exploits deserv'd.

If

* *Plutarc.*
Sueton.
in Tib.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 1.

§ *Eutrop.*
 || *Aurel.*
Viét. Epit.

If Justice, however, ought to be done to Merit where-ever we find it, it must be own'd that *Tiberius* and *Drusus* were two Great Captains. The former, beside his Bravery, had a Genius vastly superiour to every thing he took in hand. He was a perfect Master in the Art of War; and so * quick in determining, as it was reported of him that he never thought twice of the same thing. Being a careful and strict Observer of Military Discipline, and forward to undergo the Fatigues and Hardships of an Army; thus animating the Soldiery by his Example, and conquering by his Firmness whatever Difficulties opposed his Progress; he was generally attended with good Success, owing not so much to the Uncertainty of Events and to Fortune, as to his own Prudence and Ability. But on the other hand, how did his Vices fully these fine Qualities! † He was cruel, arrogant in his Carriage and Demeanour, jealous of other Mens Merit, § fullen and melancholy in his Temper, having || neither Friendship nor Affection for any body, but behaving rather with a sort of Brutal Rudeness to his nearest Relations, insomuch that they durst hardly come nigh him. He was deceitful, treacherous, and dangerous; and never acted without Design. A thick Veil, constantly drawn o'er his Heart, made his Expressions for the most part Equivocal, and puzzled People to find out his true Meaning: He delighted in fancying himself impenetrable this way; and if it was difficult to apprehend him, it was not less dangerous to shew that one did apprehend him. He was dreaded for a morose Diffidence, which sacrificed to his Suspicions all that he envy'd for their Merit, or hated for their Vertue. He was moreover subject to Excess of Wine, which he repeated so often, and carry'd so high, that his Name of *Tiberius* was satyrically changed into that of
 (r) *Biberius*.

(r) *Biberius*. But he was more noted yet for his Debauches of another Nature, no less shameful than the former, which he continued to an extreme Old Age, in his Retreat at *Capra*, where the impetuous Flames of Youth were observ'd to exercise their Fury in a dry, old, worne-out Carcass. Horrid Lewdness! that has fix'd an Infamy upon the Island of *Capra*, beyond the Power of so many Ages to wipe off. For the rest, *Tiberius's* Vices were so far from being kept secret, that even *Augustus* came to the Knowledge of them; and, speaking of him one day to his Friends, said, *The People of Rome would be very unhappy to be govern'd by a Man that would make them suffer a long while.*

Drusus, on the contrary, was more Polite, more Civil, and more a Gentleman than his Brother; and did not come behind him in point of Bravery and Goodness of Parts. He gain'd immortal Honour by a Series of Victories, which made every body conceive vast Hopes of his Courage and his Vertue. He was a Person of the genteelst Deportment; kind, affable, sincere, and such an Enemy to Dissimulation, that it was universally believ'd he would have restored the Republick to its pristine Glory and Liberty, if he had succeeded *Augustus* in the Empire. Never had Prince a Soul more nobly framed, or greater Probity of Mind and Spirit. * He was a Lover of *V. Max.* Vertue; and, which was admirable in him, in a *Sueton.* Court sunk into the Dregs of Corruption, in an *Tib.* Age wherein the Iniquity of Custom seem'd to authorize the most Criminal Pleasures, and in a Rank *Tacit.* *Annal. 1.* which furnish'd so many Opportunities of glutting his Passions, *Drusus's* Wisdom well answer'd that

(r) A certain Courtier told *Tiberius* one day, that he ought to chastize the Authors of that Piece of Wit for their Impu-

dence: But the Emperor answer'd, that in a Free City, the Tongue ought certainly to be so.

F

of

of his Wife *Antonia*, whose Chastity was so generally cry'd up. So substantial a Merit attracted the Esteem of all the World, and the particular Affection of *Augustus*; insomuch that it is thought this Emperor would have named him his Successor, if he had not apprehended that such a Preference would have confirm'd the Suspicion of his being Father to him; or if by choosing *Tiberius*, who had so many Imperfections, he had not Thoughts of heightning the Glory of his own Reign, by the Foil of an unworthy Successor; or rather, if it had not been out of his Power to refuse his Empress any thing she desired.

Such were the Sons of *Livia*: But their Merit did not eclipse that of Prince *Marcellus*, who had, beside their good Qualities, the glorious Advantage of being Nephew and Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, and was therefore look'd upon as Presumptive Heir to the Throne. This was a mighty Obstacle to the Empress's ambitious Designs, and gave her always a hankering Desire after that Prince's Death; tho' she kept it secret till at last he fell a Victim to her cursed Ambition: For *Marcellus* died in the Flower of his Age; and, we shall elsewhere see, not without Suspicion of *Livia's* being concern'd in it. *Augustus* was sensibly touch'd with this Loss; and had hardly recover'd his natural Temper, when a dangerous Conspiracy, form'd against his Life, gave him fresh Matter of Grief and Anxiety. *Cinna*, Grand-Son to *Pompey the Great*, was at the Head of this Design, and had engaged several of the most considerable Citizens of *Rome*: So that the Event would have been fatal to *Augustus*, had not one of the Conspirators betray'd the Affair. *Augustus*, perceiving the Dangers that surrounded him, was terribly alarm'd, and thought himself now in the worst Situation by far, that ever he had been in his Life. * Doubtful whether to act with

* Dio,
lib. 55.

with Severity or with Clemency toward these Conspirators, he apprehended on this hand, that Pardon and Impunity would give Encouragement to his Enemies to undertake Any thing; and on the other, that Punishment and Rigour would arm new Rebels. Moreover, he consider'd with himself, that the Revenge he exercis'd upon *Cepio* and *Murena*, who were formerly executed for such another Enterprize, had not hinder'd *Cinna* and his Associates from entring into this Conspiracy against his Person.

In these cruel Perplexities, and these tumultuous Agitations, which banish'd Sleep from his Eyes, *Augustus* became a Prey to the most violent Terrour. All Night long he did nothing but bewail himself, sighing as if his Heart would break. Hence 'tis plain, there is no Condition of Life exempt from Sorrow; no Pleasure, or Felicity, that is not flaked with some secret Discontent or inward Affliction. Nay, this Part of *Augustus's* History instructs us, that the Throne itself is not always a Sanctuary against those troublesome Guests; since it often happens, that the Supreme Power is a real Slavery, attended with the most corroding and perplexing Cares.

Livia, who shared in her Husband's Anxieties, as well as in his Grandeur, and so may be said to have espoused his very Inquietudes, desired to know the Ground of all this Melancholy: And the Emperor having given her an Account of the Conspiracy form'd against his Life, she endeavour'd to remove his Fears, by telling him, " That he * ought not to be surprized, that some who * *Dio,*
" were piqued at his Glory should declare them- *lib. 55.*
" selves his Enemies, because let a Prince govern
" with never so much Equity, and act up to the
" strictest Rules of Moderation; yet it would
" be impossible for him to please every body,
" and consequently there must be Malcontents.

“ The Great Men of the Empire, *said she*, think
 “ they have a Right to demand every thing, and
 “ would be deny’d nothing; and even the Com-
 “ mon People think themselves slighted, if they
 “ have not whatever they ask. Hence proceed
 “ Caballs, Conspiracies, and Rebellions against
 “ the Government; in a Change whereof, the
 “ Malcontents hope to see a Change of their
 “ Fortunes. Your Majesty has Soldiers, *added*
 “ *she*; send for them, and surround your Palace
 “ with such as you know and can confide in;
 “ double the Guard that has the Care of your
 “ Person, and you need not fear the Conspira-
 “ tors attempting to take away your Life.”

“ This Precaution is of no Use, Madam, *an-*
 “ *swer’d* Augustus. The Swords of those about
 “ the Person of the Prince are sometimes more
 “ to be fear’d, than those of his profess’d Ene-
 “ mies. The Courtier of greatest Zeal in out-
 “ ward Appearance, is often the most desperate
 “ Enemy; and the more to be dreaded, because
 “ concealing his Venom under the illufory Film
 “ of Friendship, he is not mistrusted, and so has
 “ the fairest Opportunities of satiating his Ha-
 “ tred and Revenge. If Foreign Enemies make
 “ War upon us, we send against them our Friends,
 “ our Generals, and our Officers: But if these be-
 “ come our Enemies, whom shall we oppose to them?
 “ There is no way left us, but Punishment, to fru-
 “ strate their wicked Designs; and to me it is clear,
 “ That is the only Method I ought to take.”

Livia heard the Emperor with Patience, till he
 came to his Resolution to put the Conspirators to
 Death; and then she used her Endeavour to
 alter his Mind, addressing him in the following
 Terms: * “ My Lord, *said she*, the Honour I
 “ have to be your Spouse, laying me under the
 “ happy Necessity of sharing your Fortune, be
 “ it good or bad, gives me also the Liberty of
 “ open-

* *Div.*
lib. 55.

“ opening my Heart to you, and speaking my
“ Thoughts without Reserve or Disguise. Pre-
“ pared as I am to perish with you, I will tell
“ you them very sincerely ; for owing the Rank
“ I possess to your sitting upon the Throne, it
“ is but reasonable that your Ruin should in-
“ clude mine. All wicked Men, My Lord, are
“ not alike ; Some have Souls naturally prone to
“ Mischief ; and these may date their Wicked-
“ ness from the Day of their Birth. Others
“ there are, who for want of Discernment do
“ the Evil they would not, if their Parts were
“ better. Lastly, we see others, who proud of
“ their Nobility, grown rank with Luxury, and
“ dazzled with the Lustre of their Dignities, think
“ themselves at liberty to committ Crimes with
“ Impunity, and would revenge every Cause of
“ Grumbling and Discontent, upon the Prince.
“ Wherefore, as the Motive, upon which some
“ act, is not so Criminal as that of others ; nei-
“ ther should their Punishment be equal. Be-
“ side, a Prince should make a prudent and po-
“ litical Use of his Clemency and Severity ; and
“ as it is always unjust to punish the Innocent,
“ so 'tis sometimes expedient not to punish the
“ Guilty. Clemency, exercised with Judgment,
“ often proves more effectual, than ill-timed or
“ ill-placed Rigour. Pardon sometimes revenges
“ an Offence more sharply, always more nobly,
“ than Punishment. When a Prince shews Mercy,
“ he loads the Criminal, and drives him to Shame
“ for what he has done. The Threats of Rack
“ and Gibbet force Men, if they can, to be be-
“ fore-hand with him who has the Power over
“ them. Causticks and Corrosives do not cure
“ half the Distempers that mild and gentle Medi-
“ cines do. The Relation there is between the
“ Diseases of the Body and those of the Mind,
“ makes the Comparison very just : For your

“ Majesty knows, *continued she*, that it has been
 “ a constant Observation, how a soft Expression
 “ stops the Career of the hottest Man alive;
 “ while bitter and provoking Language incenses
 “ the greatest Good-Nature. Wild Beasts are
 “ tamed by stroking and making much of them.”

“ I do not say, that you ought to pardon all in
 “ general that are concern’d in this Design; no,
 “ that might be of too dangerous Consequence.
 “ Cut from the Body of the Republick, if you
 “ please, those turbulent, restless, and seditious
 “ Spirits, which are never well but in Caballs
 “ and Treasons, and are render’d by Pardon
 “ more bold and resolute, instead of wise and
 “ penitent: But treat with less Rigour those,
 “ whom unsettled, inconsiderate Youth, Want of
 “ Judgment, or artful and deluding Promises
 “ may have drawn into the Revolt. Nay, make
 “ use of Threats, Marks of Infamy, Fines, Ba-
 “ nishment, and such like Methods. How many
 “ have we seen, whom the Tedioufness of a long
 “ Exile has render’d wise? How many others
 “ reclaim’d by good heavy Fines? How many
 “ are there, in short, whom the Dread of Infa-
 “ my has prevail’d with to revenge upon them-
 “ selves the Horrour of their cursed Treasons?
 “ A Prince’s Case is different from that of a
 “ Private Person: It is this Man’s Business and
 “ Interest to resent Injuries; otherwise, he will be
 “ oppress’d and despised: A Prince, on the con-
 “ trary, ought to pardon and slight the Wrongs
 “ done to himself, and revenge none but those done
 “ the Republick. If your Majesty believes me,
 “ *said she*, you will not put any of these Con-
 “ spirators to Death: Forgiveness is an Act of
 “ Generosity; and it is the Property of a Great
 “ and Good-natur’d Man, to shew Mercy. It
 “ is very rare for many Guilty to suffer, without
 “ the Loss of some Innocent; for those who are
 “ in

" in Fault are frequently confounded with others
 " that are not so. Give the Conspirators their
 " Lives; and your Clemency shall not only
 " move them to repent, but their Repentance
 " shall be a Lesson to teach their Fellow-
 " Citizens Wisdom. *Cinna*, illustrious for his
 " Birth, his Name, and his Achievements, will
 " come to himself, and renounce his villanous
 " Designs. An Enemy generously pardon'd,
 " when neither Means nor Power were wanting
 " to destroy him, will never after have the Heart
 " to hurt his Benefactor."

All that *Livia* said, was accompany'd with such
 an insinuating Grace, that it never fail'd to make
 an Impression in the Mind of *Augustus*. Her
 Counsel was as successful, as it was prudent. The
 Emperor, who had heard her with a great deal
 of Attention, found her Reasons so judicious,
 that he gave into her Sentiments. * He sent for * *Seneca*.
Cinna, made him a Recital of his Conspiracy, *de Clem.*
 gently upbraided him with his Ingratitude by
 putting him in mind of the many Obligations he
 had laid upon him; and thus having forced this
 Conspirator to acknowledge his Crime, he gave
 him his Pardon, appointed him Consul for the
 succeeding Year, and for his sake discharged all
 that were concern'd with him in the Plot.

This Clemency of *Augustus* was a Charm,
 which *Cinna* with his Band of Conspirators could
 not resist; and his Pathetick Remonstrances did
 more Execution, than he could have expected
 from his Severity fraught with a thousand Deaths.
 His Generosity did not only quite extinguish the
 Plot, but gain'd him the Hearts of all the *Romans*.
Livia had a Million of Benedictions for the Ad-
 vice she gave, to which *Cinna* ow'd his Life and
 his Liberty; and now People heard no more of
 Conspiracy or Revolt. *Augustus* judging all the
 Glory he had acquired by his Moderation, to be

due to the Wisdom of *Livia's* Counsels, govern'd himself ever after by her Advice, and never cared to do any thing of Moment without the Opinion and Approbation of that Princess.

Livia gladly embraced the Opportunity of the Emperor's Surrender of himself, to advance her Childrens Fortunes. As this was the sole End of her remotest Views, she could not bear any thing that appear'd to obstruct it; and this was doubtless the Cause of her getting rid of *Marcellus*, that she might see her Son *Tiberius* succeed to the Empire, which was the other's Right: But the Birth of *Caius Caesar*, and of *Lucius Caesar*, Sons of *Julia* by *Agrippa*, to whom the Emperor gave her in Marriage after his Nephew's Death, was in *Livia's* Judgment an abominable Superfluity of Heirs to *Augustus*, which disconcerted all her Measures, rowzed her Jealousy afresh, and gave ground for the Repetition of old Crimes. Her Politicks put her upon new Ways to gain her Point. She now employ'd all her Interest to procure the Chief Commands for her Sons; and tho' *Tiberius* was already made a Tribune, and *Drusus* promoted to the Consulate, she was contriving new Honours for them; when God, who is sometimes pleas'd to blast our Designs, even after we have taken such wise and just Measures, that we are confident of their Success, gave a terrible Shock to *Livia*, and curtail'd her Views by one of the most sensible Afflictions that could befall her; to wit, the Death of her Son *Drusus*, which happen'd in the Manner I am going to relate.

* Sueton.
in Tib.

Tiberius, having * subdued *Illyria*, and made the *Germans*, grown insolent upon *Varus's* Defeat, bend once again under the Yoak of *Augustus*, came to *Rome*, to receive the Honour of a Triumph.

† Dio,
lib 55.

† It was one of the finest that ever was seen; for *Livia* had been at some Pains and Expence to render

render it exceedingly Pompous. *Tiberius* gave a magnificent Regale to the Senators, Knights, and People; while the Empress, and the Princess *Julia* entertain'd the Ladies. But *Livia* did not stop there: To perpetuate the Remembrance of her Son's Victories, she * built a stately Temple* *Ovid.* upon the *Capitol*, and dedicated it to the God-*Fast. 1.* *deus Concord.* Here she erected an Altar to the Honour of *Augustus*; and among other rich and curious Presents with which she adorn'd this Temple, were an † admirable Piece of Crystal, † *Plin.* weighing fifty Pound, and a Root of true Cinna-*Hist. Nat.* mon of a considerable Weight, which she conse-*l. 37. c. 2.* crated herself in a Bason of Gold. From this *l. 12. c. 19.* Root there distill'd a Liquor, which falling down in Drops, turn'd into Grains, and grew very hard.

After all these Honours done to *Tiberius*, *Livia* was casting about how to conferr the same upon her Son *Drusus*, whom fresh Achievements in the Field had laden with Glory: But the News of his Death reach'd *Rome* almost as soon as that of his Victory; and the costly Preparation, which was making for his Triumph, was turn'd into mournful Provision for his Funeral. He was a Prince of the greatest Merit; and having reduced the *Catti* the *Sicambri*, and neighbouring People, ancient *Germans*, from whom those of the Landgraviat of *Hesse*, and Province of *Gelderland* are descended, his Name struck a Terrour throughout *Germany*; where, notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance he met with, he carry'd his Conquests to the Banks of the *Rhine*, and even design'd to pass that River. But he was arrested by the Hands of Death, just in the Middle of this glorious Career: For walking one day by the Water-Side, a § Ghost appear'd to him in the Shape of § *Dio,* a fine Woman, and angrily accosted him thus: *lib. 55.* —
Whither does Ambition hurry you? — Prince, Retire:
You

* *Sueton.*
in Tib.

† *Senec.*
Consol.
ad Marc.

You are come to the last Period of your Conquests and your Life: And then it vanish'd. This fatal Prediction proved but too true. * *Drusus* died as he was going to *Rome* to receive the just Reward of his Victories. The News soon arriving at Court, the Publick Rejoicings were immediately turn'd into a Publick Mourning. † *Livia's* Affliction was so great, that they were forced to send for Philosophers to administer Consolation to her; and the Senate, to contribute thereto as much as possible, and alleviate the Loss of *Drusus*, made her a Compliment of the Privileges granted by the Laws to Women that had three Children: Poor Relief to the Agonies of her Soul!

Drusus certainly deserv'd the Tears shed upon Occasion of his Death. His Merit was substantial; and if true Vertue is to be found among the Heathens, this is the Prince must serve for the Model. *Livia* was not the only Person griev'd at his Death: *Augustus*, to whom he was Dear for more Reason than one, was likewise very much concern'd; but *Antonia*, his Wife, more than either of them. She was Daughter to *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir*; and for her excellent Form both of Body and Mind, all the Writers of History are Guarantees. She had liv'd with *Drusus* in so strict an Union, and their reciprocal Love was so constant and inviolable, that they were a glorious Example of Conjugal Vertue and Fidelity, in a Court where Gallantry and Lewdness were grown customary and habitual. The irregular Conduct of the other Ladies, who without Scruple indulged themselves in all the Pleasures of *Augustus's* Court, which seem'd in some sort authorized by Precedent, made no Impression upon *Antonia's* Mind: The Maxims most likely to corrupt the Heart, found this Princess's guarded by Wisdom and Vertue. Her
Repu-

Reputation was so far from being stain'd, that no Lady's in *Rome* was in higher Esteem. *Drusus* was always the sole Object of her Desires; inso-much that she * would never hear of a Second * *Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. 18. c. 8.* Marriage, but devoted the rest of her Life to his Memory. † She spent Part of it at a *Villa* † *V. Max. lib. 4.* she took great Delight in; where, among other innocent Diversions, she frequently ‡ amused herself with feeding a Favourite Fish, upon which ‡ *Plinius, lib. 7. c. 19.* she had dexterously fix'd Pendants; a Curiosity that drew abundance of Company thither to see it. || 'Twas remark'd of *Antonia*, that she never spit. || *Plinius, lib. 7. c. 55.*

Drusus being dead, *Livia* now collected all her Views to the sole Promotion of her other Son: And forasmuch as *Augustus* was already advanced in Years, she judg'd it of the last Importance toward opening the Way for *Tiberius* to mount the Throne, for her to rid her Hands of all such as could obstruct it, and especially of those who were look'd upon as the Emperor's Successors. There was nothing but she might attempt without Fear. *Cæsar* implicitly agreed to whatever she propos'd, without considering that by giving her such an absolute Power, he was False to himself. Beside, the Empress was in a manner adored at *Rome*, on the Account of her high Station and Prosperity. People stood more in Awe of her, than of the Emperor: Every body was subservient to her Commands; and that which to others would have appear'd impossible, to *Livia* was easy, and cost her no Trouble at all. For * she did not, in * *Tacit. Xiphilin.* order to remove any Obstacle to her Designs, recurr to Open Force or Violence: Her crafty Politicks directed her Ambition to quite different Methods. She knew how to compass her Ends, by Means impenetrable even to the most Clear-sighted. She had the Secret of concealing the very Footsteps of her Crimes; and it appear'd

* Sueton.
in C. Caligula.

† Tacit.
Annal. I.
c. 5.

appear'd in conclusion, that it was not without Reason that * *Caligula* call'd her an *Ulysses* disguised in Woman's Cloaths.

It was to some † secret Effort of her profound and dangerous Politicks, that Men attributed the sudden and untimely Deaths of the Princes *Caius* and *Lucius*, Sons of *Julia* by *Agrippa*. The Merit of these two young *Cæsars*, who were so nearly related to *Augustus*, answer'd up to their high Birth: The Eyes of all the World were upon them as the next Heirs to the Empire; for there was no ground to think *Cæsar* would make Choice of one that was not of his Family; and *Livia* consequently could have no doubt but the Succession would devolve upon them. On the other hand, *Augustus* had in a manner declared his Choice, by adopting his two Grand-Sons into his Family, whom he had before advanced to the highest Dignities in the State; for he had nominated them Princes of the *Roman* Youth; he design'd them the Consulate the Moment they were of Age; and it may be said, they had already one Foot upon the Throne: But this happen'd to be the Boundary of their Fortune. *Lucius Cæsar* died suddenly at *Marseilles*; and his Brother *Caius* ended his Days at *Lycia*, upon his Return from the War of *Armenia*, wherein he receiv'd a Wound level'd at him, no doubt, from afar.

Augustus having now none of his Family left, but *Agrippa*, the last and posthumous Son of *Julia*, he adopted him in Conjunction with *Tiberius* the Son of *Livia*. This Adoption, which divided the Empire between *Tiberius* and the Emperor's Grand-Son, one would think should have satisfy'd the ambitious *Livia*: But she could not bear the Thoughts of such a Partnership, nor patiently see a Colleague quarter'd upon her Son, in a Dignity which had cost her so many Cares and so many

many Crimes: Consequently, she made what Haste she could, to get clear of this Vexation. She employ'd all her Art to give the Emperor ill Impressions of *Agrippa*; poisoning his Mind with a thousand malicious Stories of that poor Prince, upon whose minutest Actions she put false Glosses: But she had gain'd such a Knack at making *Augustus* believe what she pleas'd, that in short his Grand-Son was banish'd to the Isle of *Planasia*.

This Exile was reckon'd very cruel, because it was very unjust. *Agrippa* had not indeed so polite and genteel a way of Behaviour, as his Brothers the Princes *Lucius* and *Caius* distinguish'd themselves by: * His Natural Temper was, on the contrary, a little morose, and not to be soft-
* Tacit. Annal. 1. ten'd by the Court: His Roughness of Mind ever shew'd itself in his Manners; and his Education was but moderate: But when this is said, there are no other Crimes to reproach him withall, if *Livia* had not found too great an one in the Honour he had to be so nearly related to *Augustus*.

Thus did the blind Condescension, which that Emperor had for all *Livia's* Demands, render him a Tyrant in his Family, and an unhappy Instrument to serve her Ambition to its Destruction. Covering her perfidious Designs under a pretended Zeal for *Cesar's* Glory, she paved the Way for her Son's Advancement to the Throne, by ruining those who could prevent, or even retard it. *Augustus* saw this at last, but too late to remedy it. He complain'd to some Friends in whom he could confide, how cruel Fortune had been to him, in sweeping away so numerous a Family in so short a Time, and laying him under the hard Necessity of calling to the Succession his Wife's Son, in prejudice to the only Grand-Son he had left, whom he had condemn'd to a rigorous Banishment, for what Crime
 he

he knew not. He remark'd upon the sudden Loss of his Nephew *Marcellus*, and his Grand-Children *Lucius* and *Caius*, who were taken off before they came to Years of Maturity, and by a sort of Death wherein it was believ'd there was something more than Ordinary. These Reflexions melted down his Heart, and open'd his Eyes to the Misfortunes of Prince *Agrippa*, against whom they had so groundlessly exasperated him; and believing that he had now discover'd the true Motive of it, nothing would serve him but he must go make him a Visit in the Place of his Exile. He communicated this Design to no Soul but *Fabius Maximus*; judging it improper to confide an Affair of that Delicacy in the Hands of Many; and when all things were * concerted to render his Voyage as secret as possible, he departed for *Planasia*, accompany'd only by the said Senator. The Interview was very moving and affectionate. *Cæsar's* Heart smote within him at the Sight of his Grand-Son: The Tears trickled down both their Cheeks; and those of the Emperor gave *Fabius* Expectation of seeing the young Prince soon restored to Favour.

* *Tacit.*
Annal 1.

Mean while, this Voyage was not so violent a Secret as *Augustus* imagined. *Maximus* had not the Power to keep it from his Wife *Martia*; and *Martia* had the Weakness or Imprudence to whisper it to *Livia*. This sow'd the Seeds of bitter Jealousy and Distrust in the Mind of that Princess, and afterward proved fatal both to *Cæsar* and his Grand-Son. Nay *Livia*, with all her Policy, could not help declaring her Uneasiness to the Emperor. She told him with an Air of Pride and Revenge, " That he was in the
" wrong to pretend to conceal that Journey from
" her: That all that Precaution and Mystery he
" had affected, could never be required in a Visit
" to *Planasia*: That the Loss of his Confidence
" could

“ could not but be a very great Grief to her;
 “ and the more, because by this signal Instance
 “ of his Distrust, he had render’d her odious
 “ to his Successor, who must always have strange
 “ Apprehensions of her, since it was notorious
 “ that *Augustus* himself had.”

The Emperor, who had entrusted no body but *Maximus* with the Secret of his Voyage, knew it must be he that reveal’d it; and this Imprudence of the Senator begot in *Cæsar*’s Heart such a Rancour and Resentment, that the next time he appear’d before him, he gave him such an angry Look, as convinced him of his Disgrace; whereupon he resolv’d that very Moment to put a Period to his Life. He only communicated his Design to his Wife; telling her, that since he was so unhappy as to have lost the Emperor’s Favour, by betraying the Secret of the Journey to *Planasia*, he was determin’d not to survive it. *Martia* reply’d, she was the Guilty Person:

“ * It is I, said she, that have been the Cause of * *J. Lips.*
 “ your Ruin; and since I have render’d my- *in Tacit.*
 “ self unworthy of your Confidence, by reveal-
 “ ing a Secret the Importance whereof I should
 “ have known, it is just in me to punish the
 “ Indiscretion of my Tongue.” Scarce had she

utter’d these Words, when taking a naked Dagger, she † sheathed it in her Breast; and *Maximus* in † *Plutarc.*
 Despair follow’d her Example. (s) *Tacitus* does not allow this violent Death of *Martia*; but on the contrary, asserts her Excess of Sorrow at his Funeral, and that she charged herself with being the Cause of his Death. Be that as it will, *Augustus* had not Time to make an Alteration in *Agrippa*’s Fortune; for he died soon after, not without Suspicion of foul Play on the part of

(s) *Auditos, in funere ejus, | santis quod causa exitii ma-*
Martia gemitus, semet incu- | rito fuisset.

Livia, who was thought to have given him poison'd Figs; thus precipitating the Death of *Cæsar*, for fear *Agrippa* should turn the Tide of Chance, and frustrate the Hopes of her Son *Tiberius*.

* *Aurel. Vi& Epit.*
† *Dio, lib. 56.*

|| *Sueton. in Aug.*

It was at *Nola* that *Augustus* breathed his last, and in the same Chamber where his Father *Octavius* died. * His last Words were in favour of *Livia*; for after he had ask'd his Friends, † whether they did not think he had acted his Part well upon the Stage of the World, he directed his Discourse to his Wife, and || charged her to remember their Marriage as long as she liv'd; which he had no sooner said, but he gave up the Ghost, with manifest Tokens of his Affection to the last Moment. His Death was very much regretted at *Rome*; for as they were to serve a Master, the Republick could not have a better. His Bounty and Generosity had made the greatest and most popular Citizens gladly stoop under the Yoak of Servitude. His Moderation convinced all Mankind, that with regard to the Cruelties exercised by the *Triumvirate*, he had departed from the natural Bent of his Temper, which was by no means for Blood; and his admirable Vertues made Men say of him, that he ought never to have died, or never to have been born.

His Death was kept very secret for some time, *Livia* and her Court apprehending that *Tiberius's* Absence might be prejudicial to his Interest: But no sooner did he arrive, than the same Trumpet notify'd *Augustus's* Decease, and *Tiberius's* Accession to the Throne. *Livia's* Policy was not asleep upon this Occasion. She made shew of an inconsolable Sorrow, appear'd almost dissolv'd in Tears, and spent Day and Night in Sighing and Silence. It was one of her first Cares, to see that all imaginable Honours were paid to the Memory of *Augustus*. She procured him the ‡ *Apotheosis*, and endeavour'd to persuade People in good earnest, that

‡ See
Pag. 21.

that *Cæsar* was something more than Man. The Senator *Atticus* also, to make his Court to *Livia*, gave Credit and Currency to this impious Notion, by swearing that he saw *Augustus's* Soul ascending to the Skies; and that Empress, who knew *Atticus* did not design it gratis, made him a very considerable Present as a Recompence for his mercenary (t) Oath. Magnificent Temples were built in Honour to this new God. Altars were erected, and Priests consecrated to him; and *Livia* herself would be one of his Priestesses. *Augustus*, in his Will, appointed her Heir to a Third Part of his Estate, and adopted her into the Family of the *Julius's*, whence she took the Name of *Julia*; and thus, by an odd sort of Medley, *Livia* was at the same time *Augustus's* Widow, his Daughter, and his Priestess.

The new Reign was usher'd in and signalized by the Murder of the Posthumous *Agrippa*. *Livia* revenged *Augustus's* Diffidence upon that unfortunate Prince; and to palliate her Inhumanity, gave out that it was done in pursuance of an Article of that Emperor's Will. But this did not hinder People from thinking it a Crime of *Livia's*, added to the many others she had been guilty of, to secure to herself the Dominion; which grew more and more absolute in proportion as the *Romans* sunk deeper and deeper into base Submissi-

(t) *Atticus* did that out of Flattery and Complaisance for *Livia*, which the Senator *Proculus* had formerly done out of Policy. For *Romulus* being assassinated by the Senators, whom he had begun to treat with Haughtiness, while he was haranguing the People toward the Close of the Day, *Proculus*, to appease the Multitude, who were in Confusion upon their King's disappearing, told them, that *Romulus*

was flown up into Heaven, and swore that he saw him with a venerable Countenance like unto a God's: Which the People believ'd the more readily, because just at the Time when *Romulus* was murder'd, there happen'd a violent Storm which dispers'd the People, and gave the Senators an Opportunity of ridding themselves of their King, without being perceiv'd.

on and Compliance; for their Flattery was put to it for new Honours to soothe that Empress. They confirm'd her in the Title of *Mother of her Country*; and order'd that to *Tiberius's* other Appellations, that of *Livia's Son* should be added; insinuating as if the Honour of that Prince's having her for his Mother would give new Lustre to his former Titles. They were even of Opinion, that by a Privilege altogether new, she ought to have an Altar of Adoption: But *Tiberius*, who did not go all the Lengths of his Mother's Ambition, rejected that fullsome Offer of the Senate: For indeed he look'd upon the too great Extent of *Livia's* Authority, as a sort of Diminution of his own. He represented to those servile Magistrates, that Honour ought to be distributed to the Fair Sex by Weight and Measure; that for his own part, he would never suffer excessive ones to be voted to himself; and, covering his Jealousy of *Livia's* Power, under the Veil of Moderation and Reserve, he would not permitt them to augment that Princess's Household with so much as a single Officer.

This Conduct of *Tiberius* was very mortifying to *Livia*, who had an inexhaustible Fund of Ambition, and was eaten up, as it were, with the Itch of Government. She look'd upon her Son's Fortune to be the Fruit of her Labours; and as she had rais'd him to the Throne, principally with a View to perpetuate her own Authority, she was incessantly dinning his Ears with what she had done for him, and gave him to understand it was to her he was indebted for the Empire: As much as to say, he ought to make Returns answerable to the Nature of the Obligation. *Tiberius*, however, very often fell short: And whether it was, that he had not an over-grateful and generous Soul; or whether he could not bear his Mother's carrying her own Authority higher than that of the Laws,

Laws, he took all the Opportunities that offer'd, to curb her boundless Ambition.

The Affair of *Urgulania*, the Empress's chief Favourite, furnish'd him with one, and at the same time gave *Piso* Occasion to shew an admirable Firmness, when Fawning and Flattery had jostled themselves into the Place of Vertue. That Senator, to recover a Sum of Money he had lent to *Urgulania*, was obliged to have recourse to the *Prætor's* Authority, who cited her to appear before him. *Urgulania* had vast Interest at Court; inso-much that *Livia* made her a sort of Bulwark to her Power; and the * Protection with which the Empress honour'd her upon all Occasions publick or private, had render'd her so proud and haughtiness, that in despite of the oldest and severest Laws, she disdain'd to go to the Senate, or before any other Magistrates, when legally summon'd so to do; and made it † necessary for a *Prætor* to go to her, and take her Depositions, or receive her Answers. These shameful Compliances, derogatory from the Dignity and Authority of the Senate, set that *Roman* Lady so high above the rest of her Sex, that being secure of the Empress's Protection, she fancy'd she might make a Nose of Wax of the Laws. She shew'd such a Contempt for the *Prætor's* Summons, that instead of obeying them, she went to the Emperor's Palace at the very Instant she ought to have appear'd in Court. It is true, *Urgulania* had *Livia's* Power to screen her in her bold and irregular way of Proceeding; for that Empress, who could no more set Bounds to her Authority, than to her Ambition, rais'd a prodigious Clamour against *Piso* for his barbarous Incivility; and would have it, that she was struck at in the Person of her Favourite, since to sue one so universally known to be under her Protection, was the same thing, she said, as to insult herself.

* Tacit.
Annal. 2.
cap. 34.

† Tacit.
Annal. 4.
cap. 21.

Tiberius found it very difficult to avoid concerning himself in an Affair which his Mother had so much at Heart; and tho' he had not the least Inclination to break in upon the Laws, yet he thought himself obliged in Decency to solícite the *Prator* in *Urgulania's* behalf, who was indeed severely handled by her unpolish'd Creditor; or, at least, he must pretend so to do. He set out from his Palace therefore, to go to the *Prator's* House, affecting an easy and composed Countenance: But to give the Magistrate Time to determine the Matter before his Arrival, he stopt often enough in the Streets, talking with such of his Courtiers as he met, to convince any body, that he did not much trouble himself how *Urgulania's* Affair went. *Livia* was one of the first that apprehended his Meaning; and to save herself the Mortification of seeing Judgment given contrary to her Inclination, she sent for *Piso*, and paid him what her Favourite ow'd him.

This was not the only Occasion wherein the Emperor shew'd his Indifference to his Mother; but there happen'd another much more shocking, her Honour and Reputation being directly attack'd. * *Farilia*, Grand-Daughter to a Sister of *Augustus*, had spoken not disrespectfully only, but indeed very abusively of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, in a numerous Assembly. This was charged upon her as a Crime; and lest her Punishment should seem to exceed her Demerit, she was farther accused of horrid Adultery, and of tainting the Blood of the *Cæsars* by an infamous Prostitution of herself.

Farilia's Ruin was now the Expectation of all that knew her. The Charge against her was heavy, and affected the Honour of the Emperor and his Mother. Persons convicted of such Crimes were generally made to undergo the severest Punishment; so that 'tis very likely the Senate thought it proper to consult *Tiberius*, for fear he

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 2.

he should think their Sentence too mild. But that Prince did not answer the Expectations of *Farilia's* Accusers, nor of *Livia* and the Publick. He told them, the *Julian* Law had sufficiently settled the Penalties of Adultery; and that for his part, he would not have it made a Crime in *Farilia* to speak Ill of him. There now remain'd only what concern'd *Livia*; and the Consul desired the Emperor's Advice therein. *Tiberius* did not immediately return an Answer; but they might have read it in his Countenance; and the day following, he went to the Senate, and declared as on the part of his Mother, that whatever might have been said against her, she pass'd it by, and desired it might make no Article of Accusation.

This was the Reward that *Livia* receiv'd for all the Crimes she had perpetrated, to advance her Son to the Throne. Neither yet did this ungrateful Usage produce an Alteration of Conduct in her. She was for making *Tiberius* easy and quiet in the Possession of that Throne, to which she had rais'd him at the Expence of the Lives of all the Princes entitl'd to it. And to the end that he might have nothing to give him Umbrage, or alarm his Jealousy, she persecuted to the Death as many of *Augustus's* Race, as were considerable either for their Birth or their Merit. Wherefore, as Prince *Germanicus* and his Consort *Agrippina* were beyond Contradiction Persons of the rarest Accomplishments, and in the highest Reputation of any in *Rome*, *Livia* and *Tiberius* resolv'd at all Adventures to get rid of them.

Germanicus was Son to *Drusus* and *Antonia*, whose Characters we have already given. * He possess'd * *Tacit.*
all the fine Qualities, Military, Civil, and Political, *Annal 2.*
in such a high degree, that he was compared to *c. 74.*
Alexander the Great, whose Vertues he enjoy'd,
without his Failings. † He was brave without † *Sueton.*
Precipitation, wise, moderate, genteel, affable, in- *in Caio.*

violably faithful, prudent, and an Enemy to Vice: He was animated with a large and noble Soul, and a Spirit great without Arrogance; tempering the Gravity of his Rank with a great deal of Good-Nature and Courtesy. His Parts were equal to his Birth: All his Thoughts were noble; he was a perfect Master in the Art of Speaking, and was ignorant of nothing that a Prince ought to know. By all these Vertues and excellent Qualifications, *Germanicus* was well deserving of the Praises that were given him, and the Value Men had for him, not only in *Rome* and the Empire, but even among their Enemies. Never was General so well belov'd by his Troops, as that Prince was by his, who would very often have conferr'd the Empire upon him; but he refused it, out of a Moderation which render'd him the more worthy of it.

Neither did the Character of his Spouse *Agrippina* in any respect fall short of his. She was Grand-Daughter to *Augustus*, and a Princess of that Vertue, that there is no Fear of launching too far in her Commendation. Her Chastity was so generally establish'd, as to be out of the Reach of the vilest Tongue to calumniate; and this Vertue was the more to be admired in her, because in her Mother's Conduct she might have seen Instances of too great a Licentiousness. She had an exalted Courage, and such a Greatness of Soul, as it may be said of her, she had none of the *Foibles* of her Sex. *Agrippina* had, on the other hand, all those Defects, which in Persons of her Rank pass for noble Vices. She was proud, haughty, and ambitious; uncapable of the least Condescension, or debasing herself, as it was call'd; and shew'd upon all Occasions a Heart that was Proof against the Rebuffs of Fortune. Bearing an Antipathy to Dissimulation and Flattery, a Vein of strict and unshaken Truth ran thro' all her Actions; and

and you might see in her Person, her Expressions, and her Conduct, that Air of Pride inspired into her by her Birth; together with the glorious Testimony her own Heart bore her, of the Integrity of her Life, and a Wisdom universally admired.

* *Livia*, whose Reputation was ambiguous enough, notwithstanding the regular Outside she affected to put on, could not bear this high Opinion the World entertain'd of *Agrippina's* Vertue, which heighten'd her Jealousy the more, because she herself could not help admiring it. Being on the other hand accustomed to receive the promiscuous Homage of all Persons of Rank and Distinction at *Rome*, who used to study in her Countenance the Honours and Submissions that would please her, it was insupportable that *Agrippina* should be the only Person to stand aloft, and not yield the Tribute which every body else paid her. This Air of Stiffness seem'd to her to dispute her Authority; and she was the more uneasy upon it, because she would have every thing give way to her Ambition. Hence arose that Emulation which divided these two Princesses, and that implacable Hatred which *Livia* bore *Agrippina* as long as she liv'd.

Neither was *Tiberius* exempt from Jealousy upon the account of *Germanicus*; and his Hate was so much the more dangerous, in regard it was conceal'd. He could not see without Envy the Vertues in that Prince which he knew wanting in himself. *Germanicus's* Triumphs resounded his Fame throughout the Empire, and met with such a general Applause, (the certain Sign of Merit) as graved in the Emperor's Heart the indelible Lines of Jealousy, which were render'd stronger by the Love that all the World shew'd for *Germanicus*. Hence that malicious Assiduity with which *Tiberius* and his Mother *Livia* endeavour'd to traverse the Designs

of that Prince: And seeing this Persecution could not rise to the Satisfaction of their Wishes, they answer'd them at last by the Death of that Great Man, who was poison'd by the Treachery of *Piso* and his Wife *Plancina*, sent on purpose by *Tiberius* and *Livia* into *Syria*, where *Germanicus* commanded the Army.

It is true, *Tiberius*, to be thought innocent of this Murder, pretended to be mightily afflicted, when the News was brought him of that Prince's Death; but it was impossible for him to wipe off the Suspicion; for the Secret Orders he gave *Piso* in relation to *Germanicus*, had not only been seen in that Senator's Hands, but he even resolv'd to produce them in full Senate, to justify himself, and cast the *Odium* of the Poison, and all that had been done in *Syria*, upon the Emperor. *Agrippina* having gather'd up her Consort's Ashes, set out with them for *Rome*; where when she arrived, all the Orders of the City honour'd with their Tears that precious *Depositem*, which refresh'd their Memories with the fragrant Vertues of *Germanicus*. They went out of Town to meet the Convoy, full of Grief and Mourning; and paid to the *Manes* of that Prince an Offering of the sincerest and most affectionate Sorrow. Never was such a Concourse of People known at any Sight. All the Houses in Town were deserted. The Senate, the Knights, the People, the Women, the Children; in short, every Creature in the City went out to meet the Urn; and they receiv'd it with as much Respect, as if it had been the Image of a God.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 3.

* Neither *Livia*, nor *Tiberius* however appear'd; as thinking it not convenient to shew themselves in Publick, for fear their Countenances should be scann'd, and People should see in their Faces the Joy of their Hearts upon Occasion of *Germanicus's* Death. But the Satisfaction *Tiberius* reap'd

reap'd from it, was too too manifest, when he basely gave up the Blood of his Nephew, which *Agrippina* was obliged to petition the Senate to revenge: And *Livia* for her part was so little chary of her Exultation, that she avowedly espoused the Cause of *Plancia*, and by her Intrigues and Authority screen'd her from the Punishment due to her heinous Perfidiousness.

The Empress having thus sacrificed to her Jealousy and her Ambition all the Victims they could crave, she now bent her Thoughts altogether upon the Pleasure of enjoying the Sovereignty without Allay or Controul. She made a sort of Idol of her Grandeur and Authority, to which the *Romans* paid a greater Devotion than to their Gods. The Senate dwindled into Panegyrick and Submission. Sagacious at finding Ways to please, they invented new Honours to offer up to her Vanity; and carry'd their Flattery so far, as to grant that Princess a Privilege of sitting among the *Vestal* Virgins in the Theater; thus placing among the Nuns, a Woman the farthest from it of any in the World, notwithstanding the Pains she was at to salve Appearances. For after all, the Presents she made to the Temples of the Gods, as well in the Provinces as at *Rome*, were only to dazzle the Eyes of the Vulgar. That at *Jerusalem* tasted most largely of her Beneficence; for she sent thither several Vessels of Gold, and other things of very great Value, as so many Monuments of her Piety, which was at bottom mere Hypocrisy.

Mean while, *Tiberius* saw with a great deal of Concern this boundless Ambition of his Mother: For tho' that Prince was haughty and ambitious enough himself, yet he was for the Substantial Part of Government, and hated the Pomp and Pageantry of it; infomuch that to him the glaring Outside *Livia* affected, was insupportable. He dissembled however, so long as he saw the
Empress

Empress content herself with Titles and Honours; but when he perceiv'd that her Pride would not stop there, he could not forbear shewing his Dislike of her Proceedings; and particularly with regard to what she did one day, upon Occasion of the dedicating an Image to the Memory of *Augustus*, near the Theater of *Marcellus*; to wit, the contriving a pompous Inscription, wherein her own Name was put before that of the Emperor. *Tiberius*, who look'd upon this Preference as a sort of Invasion of his Right, was nevertheless desirous to avoid all Opportunities of embroiling himself with his Mother; and therefore framing an Excuse to leave *Rome*, he retired to (u) *Capra*; where he spent the rest of his Life in those filthy Pleasures which cannot be read without Blushing and Astonishment, while *Livia* govern'd with an absolute Sway at *Rome*.

Tiberius's Absence gave People a greater Awe than ordinary of his Mother's Authority; inso-much that *Livia* might be said to govern the Empire as she pleas'd. Neither was it a short time that she enjoy'd this Pleasure; for she liv'd to a very advanced Age, thro' the Goodness of her Constitution, and an excellent State of Health, which

(u) *Capra* was an Island, that had no Port or Haven for Ships of Burden to enter, and could receive nothing bigger than Fregates and small Barques; neither could these approach without being discover'd by the Sentinels who were placed to watch what passed upon the Sea. The Air of this Island was very temperate, and mild even in Winter; the Violence of the Wind being broke by the neighbouring Mountains which shelter'd the Isle. And in Summer the Heats were not excessive, the Air being cool'd by Breezes

from the Sea. This Place *Tiberius* chose for his *Seraglio*; and here he gave himself up to the most scandalous Debauches that ever were heard of. Formerly there were two Towns in this Island; now there is but one, which is call'd *Capri*, and is a Bishop's See, Suffragan to *Amalfi*, or *Melfi*, an Archbishoprick in the Province of *Basilicata* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Giouanni Gioia*, who invented the Sea-Compass, was born.

*Prima dedit nautis usum
magnetis Amalphis.*

she attributed to the Wine of *Pezzano*, and to a sort of Preserve she made of a * Root call'd * *Plinius*, by *Pliny Enula Campana*, or *Elicampane*, which she regularly eat every day. But at last, she was call'd upon to pay her Tribute to Nature: *Livia* fell ill; and an Express was dispatch'd to *Capra*, to acquaint *Tiberius* with the News. lib. 14. c. 6. 68

If the Cords of Nature were too weak to drag the Emperor from his infamous Retirement, yet surely the Ties of Gratitude might have prevail'd with him to pay One Visit at least to his dying Mother, who had given him the Empire. But *Tiberius* shook off both the one and the other; and whether he had no Inclination to see his Mother; or whether he was ashamed to shew at *Rome* an Old-Age which all People there knew to be immersed in the filthiest Vices; or lastly, whether he was reduced to the Wretchedness of not daring to contradict his Favourite (w) *Sejanus*, who was for keeping him at *Capra*, to hold the Reins of Government in his own Hands; certain it is, that he excused himself under divers Pretences. † *Livia* died at the Age of Fourscore † *Dio*, and upward; and her || Body being deposited in lib. 58. *Augustus's Mausoleum*, her Grand-Son *Caius Caligula* pronounced her Funeral Oration. || *Tacit.* Annal. 5.

The Senate decreed no less Honours to *Livia's* Memory, than they had done to her Person: But *Tiberius* always affecting a great Shew of Mode-

(w) *Ælius Sejanus* was Colonel of the *Prætorian Guards*. He rais'd himself, by his Address, to the highest degree of Favour that ever Courtier reach'd; and engross'd all *Tiberius's* Confidence. He was so transported with Ambition, as to dare aspire at the Empire. He poison'd Prince *Drusus*, the Emperor's Son; and persecuted with Hellish Cruelty *Agrippina* and her whole Family. He was Author of almost all the Violences *Tiberius* committed. At last, this Prince saw thro' *Sejanus's* perfidious Designs, and had him condemn'd by the Senate at the very Instant that the haughty Favourite thought the Emperor was labouring to promote him yet higher.

ration,

* See
Pag. 21.

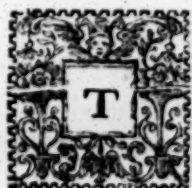
ration, forbid them to be paid her : Neither would he permitt them to grant her the * *Apotheosis*. And lest the World should censure him as failing in the Respect he ow'd to his Mother's Memory, he gave out, that it was her own Request when living, that Divine Honours might not be paid to her after her Death.



JULIA



J U L I A,
CONSORT
TO
TIBERIUS CÆSAR.



HERE is no such thing as Complete Felicity in this World. The gayest Fortune, and the highest Rank, do not make their Possessors so happy, but Something is always wanting to their Desires. This was a * Satyrift's Opinion in the Reign of *Augustus*; and I do not know any body has better justify'd it, than that Emperor. His Valour and the Success of his Arms had made him Master of the Universe. The Mildness of his Government, the Beneficence of his Temper, and the Prudence of his Administration, had effaced the Memory of the *Triumvirate's* Cruelties, in which *Augustus* had too large a Share, and brought the loftiest Minds to stoop under the Yoak of Servitude. He was dreaded by his Enemies, respected by the most distant People, belov'd by his Subjects, and esteem'd by all the World. † He made the whole Earth sensible of the Charms of Peace, which was so much wanted and desired, and proved the joyful Fruit of the Victories

* *Horat.*
Od. 16. 1. 2.

† *Sueton.*
in Aug.

Victories he had gain'd over those who were in Truth more jealous of his Glory and Fortune, than jealous for the Publick Liberty. In a word, the Bounds of his Empire were those of the Universe; and, to judge of things by Appearances, *Augustus* should in this Situation have been the happiest Man alive. But if, without suffering our Eyes to be dazzled with the Lustre of his Grandeur and his Fortune, we make a nearer Approach to him; if we view this same *Augustus* in his Cabinet, and sift to the bottom of his Heart, we shall be convinced that the Inquietudes and Distrusts, the Fears and the Anxieties, that usually reign'd within, were more than a Balance for the gawdy Pleasure of Governing. For indeed, what a Weight of Cares was that exalted Condition always attended with? Not to mention the untimely Death of his Nephew *Marcellus*, which so nearly affected him; nor the numerous

* Conspiracies from time to time form'd against him, sufficient to give any Prince the dreadful'st Frights and Alarms: To pass over the Defeat of *Lollius*, and the Overthrow of (a) *Varus*, which

* *Sueton.*
in *Aug.*
Aurel.
Victor.
Epit. in
Aug.

(a) *Quintilius Varus* was of a Family more Illustrious than Noble. He had been Governor of *Syria*, and occasion'd this Saying of him, *That he came poor into a rich Province, and went rich out of a poor one.* He was afterward sent to *Cisalpine Gaul*, where he caus'd all *Virgil's* Estate, which had been seiz'd by the Troops, to be restored to him: An Act of Generosity which the Poet did not fail to record in one of his *Eclogues*. *Augustus* after this gave *Varus* the Command of the Army he sent against the *Germans*; but *Varus*, suffering himself to be surprized by *Arminius*, who commanded

the *Barbarians*, he was entirely defeated. Three Legions and all the Auxiliary Troops were cut in pieces, and almost all the Officers slain. *Varus* resolv'd not to survive his Disgrace, and kill'd himself, after the Example of his Father and Grand-Father, who upon the like Disasters made away with themselves. The News of the Defeat of the Army and the Loss of the Troops, being brought to *Rome*, *Augustus* was seiz'd with an excessive Sorrow. He tore his Cloaths, cry'd and groan'd with a terrible Noise, and knock'd his Head against the Wall, calling out, *Varus, give*
so

so sensibly touch'd him, that he indulg'd his Sorrow in several things beneath the Dignity of a great Emperor: And contenting ourselves with the single Affliction which his only Daughter *Julia's* dissolute Life must necessarily give him; shall we not esteem that Prince the most Unhappy Man, in the highest and happiest Post that can be enjoy'd by Mortals? Shame, Confusion, Anger, Repentance, were so many greedy Vulturs continually preying upon his Heart. *Scipio, Gracchus, Crispinus*, and the rest of his Daughter's Gallants, * were to him as sworn Conspirators against himself. *Julius Anthony*, and *Julia* were to that Emperor another *Triumvirate*, and a second *Cleopatra*: In a word, *Julia* seem'd to be born only to chequer her Father's Fortune by her repeated and abominable Vices.

* *Sueton. de brev. vit.*

She was Daughter to *Cæsar Augustus* by his third Wife *Scribonia*; and that Emperor took such a particular Care of her Education, that the crying Enormities with which she dishonour'd herself, must be attributed altogether to an unaccountable Depravation of Nature: For *Augustus*, who had noble Views for his Family, kept such a strict Watch upon the Conduct of his Daughter *Julia*, as acquainted him with all her most indifferent Actions: And to obviate the Dangers of too much Leisure, frequently the Inlet to all manner of Vice, he found her constant Employment in Woollen Work of different sorts. † He moreover forbid her to speak or do any thing in Publick; that the Fear of Censure might make her so well concert her Words and Actions, as to deserve a Place in the *Journal* he design'd to write. Lastly, she was forbid to

† *Sueton. in Aug.*

me my Legions again, Varus! | This is said to be the greatest
He let his Beard grow, and in | Loss the Romans sustain'd in
short gave all possible Marks | Foreign Countries after the De-
of the profoundest Grief. | feat of *Crassus*.

converse

converse with any Strangers; and *Tucinius*, a young Gentleman of a good Fortune and fine Person, by going to pay his Respects to that Princess at *Baia*, incurr'd the Displeasure of *Augustus*, who blamed his Rashness and Indiscretion, in a Letter he wrote to him full of angry Expressions.

But what will the best and careful'st Manu-
ring signify, in a Piece of Ground that comes
spoil'd, as one may say, out of the Hands of Na-
ture? *Julia's* violent Inclination to Lewdness,
render'd all her Father's Caution useless; and
Augustus's Vigilance was too weak a Dam to re-
sist the impetuous Floods of that Princess's Tem-
per; because the Emperor, who lov'd her a little
too well perhaps for his Reputation, opposed the
Liberties she gave herself with an Air of Neg-
ligence, and shew'd too great a Complaisance for
his Daughter, whom he should have treated, as he
said, with the same Conduct he did the Repub-
lick. Blind and fatal Connivance! which was
the Source of all her Enormities, and the Cause
of that Assurance with which she afterward com-
mitted so many Crimes.

Julia was a Princess of exquisite Beauty, ren-
der'd yet more charming by a negligent Air in
Dress. She was all gay and merry, of engaging
Manners, and had a fine Knack at Rallery. In Con-
versation she was so delicately bright and spright-
ly, that she enchanted the whole Company. To
the Fire and Vivacity of a gallant and easy De-
portment, she join'd a Knowledge of the *Belles
Lettres* sufficient to make her a good Judge of
Pieces of Wit and Humour. A brisk Air, a
Countenance always smiling, and the softest
Graces, accompany'd in *Julia* a Mien Great
without Affectation, and Majestick without For-
mality; but sweeten'd on the other hand with
those free and easy Ways of acting, which are
observ'd

observ'd in none but such as are thorowly acquainted with the *Beau Monde*. Her Eyes made as many Conquests as they cast Glances; and it was impossible for any Heart to guard against their Incurfions, so dangerous were they grown to Liberty. In a word, her whole Person was surrounded with a thousand Charms, which had Something, I know not what, so bewitching, that it was almost Folly to pretend to resist them: And we may with Justice affirm, that *Julia* was the completest Beauty in the Empire.

She was very young, when *Augustus* began to think of marrying her. He was not long deliberating about the Choice of a Husband; young *Marcellus*, Son to *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* and his Sister *Octavia*, was the Person he design'd for her. And certainly the Emperor could not have made a wiser Choice. *Marcellus*, for whom he had a particular Affection, had all the fine Qualities that can go to the Accomplishment of a Prince. His Name shews the illustrious Race from which he sprung; for he was a * Descen- * *Tit. Liv.*
 dent of the famous *Marcellus*, who made *Hannibal* *Florus*,
 know that he was not invincible, and who having *lib. 2.*
 slain *Viridomarus*, King of the *Insubrian Gauls*, *Plutarch.*
 with his own Hand, had the Honour of being *vit. Mar-*
 Third after *Romulus*, that consecrated to the Gods *cell.*
 the Arms of the Republick's (b) Enemies. Glo-

(b) *Romulus*, first King of Rome, was also the first that offer'd to the Gods the Spoils taken in War: For having kill'd *Acron*, King of the *Cecinenses*, or *Cecinians*, with his own Hand, he offer'd the Spoils of that Prince to *Jupiter*, in a Temple he caus'd to be built for him near the *Capitol*, where the *Cordeliers* Church, call'd *Ara Cœli*, now stands. That Temple was call'd the Temple of *Jupi-*

ter Feretrius, from the Latin Word *ferire*, to smite; or from *ferre*, to bear; because the Person that triumph'd, carry'd himself the Spoils he had a mind to consecrate to *Jupiter*.

*Sed quia victa suis humeris
 hæc arma ferebant,
 Hinc Feretri dicta est Ara
 superba Jovis.*

Cornelius Cossus was the second that had the Honour to offer to *Jupiter* the Spoils of

H

rious

rious Monuments! to shew that in the Family of *Marcellus*, Valour and Nobility were of the same Date. This young Prince was easy of Access, affable, free, courteous, and every way engaging. He was one of the sweetest temper'd Men in the World, wish'd every body well, and did all the Good-Offices he could; which made him extremely popular, and won the Hearts of as many as had the Honour to know him. To say no

* *Horat.*
Od. 12. l. 3.

more, People * admired in him that growing Merit, which assured to him the Glory of his Ancestors; and rejoiced to see how highly his rare Qualities recommended and endear'd him to the Republick. Such was *Marcellus*, when his Uncle *Augustus* took it into his head to knit him to himself with a closer and stricter Band, by giving him his only Daughter *Julia* in Marriage. That Emperor happen'd to be detain'd by an Indisposition at *Terragona*, and could not be at the Wedding himself. He was loth to expose his crazy Constitution to the Fatigues of a long Journey; but being as loth to deferr the Consummation of this Marriage any longer, he committed it to the Care of his Favourite *Agrippa*, who worthily approved the Choice that *Cesar* had made of him, in his Manner of ordering so august a Ceremony.

This Feast was celebrated at *Rome* with a Pomp and Magnificence proportion'd to the Dignity of the Birth and Rank of the Prince and Princess who were the Occasion of it. *Agrippa* had indeed a fair Opportunity of doing it with more Splendor than ordinary. † It happen'd at the very Instant when the last Hand was put to

† *Dio,*
lib. 55.

the Enemies of *Rome*, after he had slain *Volumnius*, King of the *Veientes*, with his own Hand. *Marcellus* was the third who shared in that Glory. The Spoils thus offer'd to *Julius* *Cæsar*, were call'd *O-pima*; which Name was apply'd to none but those taken by the Commander of an Army from the Commander of the Enemy's Army.

the

the famous Temple he dedicated to *Jupiter* and all the Gods, under the Name of (c) *Pantheon*; and the Solemnity of that Consecration render'd the Ceremony of *Julia's* Nuptials more pompous and magnificent. *Agrippa*, to do Honour to *Cesar's* Daughter and Nephew, and to shew his Gratitude to his Benefactor, open'd his Treasures, and display'd the Strength of his Riches and Magnificence. Nothing was to be seen at *Rome*, but Courses, Games, Shews, and Diversions. The Senators and People, the Knights and all the Orders partook of them; and amidst such an universal Joy, *Livia* was the only Person, who under a chearful Countenance brought always to those Assemblies a Heart full of Rancour and Jealousy. Her Sentiments concerning *Marcellus* were very different from the rest of the *Romans*. She look'd upon that young Prince as a powerful, and so much the more grievous, Obstacle to the Aggrandizing of her Son *Tiberius*, in whose favour she had conceiv'd vast Designs: For she study'd how to deliver the Empire into his Hands; and to secure the Success, got rid of all who gave her Umbrage upon that score.

Marcellus was the first Victim offer'd up to *Tiberius's* Fortune; because the Advantages that Prince enjoy'd, as Nephew, Son-in-Law, and Presumptive Heir to *Cesar*, putting a great Distance between the Throne and *Livia's* Son, she thought it of the last Importance to take off *Marcellus* before he could raise up Grand-Children

(c) *Pantheon* is a celebrated Temple which *Agrippa* caus'd to be built to the Honour of all the Gods. It is the finest Monument of Antiquity of the kind at *Rome*. The Form of it is round, *Agrippa* so ordering it in Imitation of the Heavens, or perhaps to prevent all Jealousy among the

Gods he placed there, about Precedence. There is not a Window in this Temple; the Light entring it only thro' an Opening in the Center of the Arch. Pope *Urban IV.* consecrated it to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints.

to *Augustus*, and so to open a Way for her Son one day to arrive at the Empire. 'Tis not certainly known what Method she took to perpetrate this Design; for never was Princess so secret in any thing she went about. She had the Art to give this Feat a Colour, which eighteen Centuries have not been able to wear off: But in short, *Marcellus* did not die an Old Man.

Augustus being return'd to *Rome*, found his Nephew united to him by a new and stricter Tie; and was over-joy'd to see how all Mens Hearts were turn'd toward a Prince, for whom he himself had so great an Affection. The Senators, to make their Court to *Cæsar*, admitted *Marcellus* into their Body, and in the same Rank as those who had serv'd the Prætorship. They permitted him to demand the Consulate ten Years before he had attain'd the Age prescribed by the Laws for holding that high Office; and to all these Honours, the Emperor added so many others no less magnificent, as gave good ground to believe that in *Marcellus* he was providing himself a Successor. Nevertheless, how charming soever this Prince's Qualities might be, they were not capable of fixing *Julia's* Heart. His solid Merit, so universally admired, found her almost always indifferent; and *Marcellus*, who so well deserv'd her Love, was the very Person she lov'd least. Born with a tender Complexion, or rather with a fatal Inclination to Licentiousness, she heard with Complacency any one that durst declare his Passion to her. She was continually inclosed in a Circle of fawning Courtiers, made up of the most gallant and polite Citizens of *Rome*, who came to pay the Princess their fulsome Homage of labour'd Compliments, which proved a Poison that infected her very Heart. Several of these Admirers found Ways to gain her Love; and we read,

read, that * this was the Time when *Tiberius* * *Sueton*
first receiv'd indubitable Proofs of her Affection. *in Tib.*

Affairs were in this Situation, when *Augustus* was seiz'd with a Fitt of Sicknefs, which at first gave small Hope of his Recovery. † *Antonius Musa*, † *Sueton*
(d) a celebrated Physician, was call'd in; and *in Aug.*
was so happy in the Choice of the Remedies he *Plinius,*
prescribed, that the Emperor soon did well un- *lib. 19. c. 8.*
der his Hands. This Illness of *Cæsar* gave Oc- *Horat.*
casion for a Misunderstanding between *Marcellus*
and *Agrippa*, which might have grown into a
downrigh Quarrel, had not *Augustus's* Prudence
prevented the bad Consequences of it. The Em-
peror no sooner found himself ill, but he com-
mitted to the Care of *Agrippa* the Ring with
which he used to seal his Letters. This Mark
of his Confidence gave *Marcellus* a great deal of
Concern; insomuch that he knew not how to
brook it. The seeming Preference was the more
mortifying, in regard it appear'd to him very
unjust: And looking upon *Agrippa*, from that time,
as his Rival in the Favour of *Augustus*, he could not

(d) *Antonius Musa* was a Physician greatly in Vogue during the Reign of *Augustus*, by whom he had been enfranchised, or made Free. His Brother was Physician to King *Juba*. *Musa* recover'd *Augustus* from a dangerous Distemper, by prescribing the Use of the Cold Bath. This Cure rais'd his Reputation to the highest Pitch; so that People of all Ranks confided in his Advice and Directions. Upon the Emperor's Recovery, the Cold Bath became the Remedy most in Use. *Musa* prescribed it in all manner of Diseases: And *Horace*, who had resolv'd to try the Hot Baths at *Baiæ*, changed his Mind by the Advice of *Musa*, who per-

suaded him to the Cold Bath. The Inhabitants of *Baiæ* were desperately enraged at our Physician; because it was owing to him, that their Baths were forsaken, and all the Company went either to *Gabii* or *Clusum*, where they had very commodious Cold Baths. *Musa*, beside the Reputation he acquired by restoring *Cæsar's* Health, receiv'd several valuable Presents from that Prince, and the Privilege of wearing a Gold Ring, like Gentlemen of the Equestrian Order. The Senate erected a Statue of him near that of the God *Æsculapius*; and for his sake many Privileges were granted to those of his Profession.

help shewing his Displeasure, and giving him Marks of his Resentment.

It was not long before this Affair was communicated to *Augustus*; who having a very great
 * *Tacit. Annal. 1.* * Affection for his Nephew, and no less Friendship for *Agrippa*, wisely bethought himself of an Expedient which might pacify the one, and compose the other. † He removed his Favourite a good distance from *Rome*, by sending him to *Syria*, with the Honourable Title of Governor; and *Marcellus* was invested with the Pontificate, and with the Dignity of an (e) *Ædile*.

† *Vell. Pat. 1. 2.*

§ *Horat. Epod. ad Val.*

|| *Dio, lib. 54.*

He was discharging both these Offices with general Applause, when he was seiz'd with a Distemper at first judg'd not to be dangerous. The Care of the Prince was committed to the great Physician *Musa*. § His Success in the Recovery of *Augustus*, by the Prescription of the Cold Bath, gave him a vast Reputation; and this was the Remedy he prescribed for *Marcellus*. But whether his Distemper, being different from the Emperor's, required different Medicines; or whether || *Livia*, according to the general Suspicion, had given secret Orders, *Marcellus* died at the Age of Four and twenty, lamented by *Augustus*, the Court, and the whole Empire; leaving *Julia* a Widow, without having had Issue by her.

(e) The *Ædiles* were a sort of Civil Magistrate. They took Care of the Publick Edifices, the Temples, the Solemn Games, and the Theaters. Their Office moreover obliged them to see the Streets kept clean; and we read that *Vespasian*, while he was an *Ædile*, having neglected the Cleaning of a Street, *Caligula* by Chance went thro' it, and perceiving the Dirt, order'd it to be gathered up, and cast upon the careless Magistrate. Only the *Ædiles* were permitted the Use of Ivory Seats in their Coaches. Men were not qualify'd for this Office, till arrived at the Age of Thirty seven. Their Persons were very much respected, but not accounted inviolable: For a Magistrate of superior Authority might commit an *Ædile* to Prison.

His

His Death o'erwhelm'd *Rome* with Grief and Tears. *Octavia*, the Prince's Mother, was inconsolable. (f) The Emperor was like a Man distracted; and the *Tears he shed for the Loss of **Marcellus*, were glorious Testimonies of his Merit, ^{*Vell. Pa-terc. Hist. lib. 2.*} and *Cæsar's* Affection. The Truth is, *Augustus* could not expect to find another Successor so worthy as this. *Julia* acquitted herself of those Duties which Decency and Custom required; but they were tiresome and fatiguing to her: For being then in the Flower of her Age, in the Bloom of her Beauty, and one that was no Admirer of Constraint, she was not very sorry to recover that Independence which *Marcellus's* Death entitled her to. No longer bound to the strict Observance her Marriage-State required, she was at liberty to hearken to all the Persons of Merit or Distinction at *Rome*, that made their Court to her. And this was her Consolation upon the Death of a Husband she had been obliged to take without consulting her Inclination.

Every one knows, that the Age of *Augustus* was the most glorious of all Ages, and the most productive of Great Men; nor is there any to compare with it, excepting that of *Lewis the Great*. The Calamities of a War, wherein *Rome* had seen so many Fields dy'd with the purest and noblest Blood of her Citizens, were at last succeeded by a profound Peace, whose Sweets and Advantages dispers'd themselves all the World over. The whole Earth was subject to the Empire of *Augustus*; and his Court being composed of such Persons both at *Rome* and in the Empire, as were distinguish'd for their high Birth, the Importance of their Offices and Dignities, the Politeness of their Manners, the Brightness of their Parts, and the Glory of their Exploits, Gallantry must be

(f) *In Marcellus eris, manibus date lilia plenis.*

supposed to come much in Fashion there. *Augustus*, of whom we have already given some Account, was himself a very gallant Man; and tho' he would never suffer Business to give Place to Love, yet 'tis well known he was an Admirer of the Fair Sex, and that too more out of Inclination than Policy, whatever has been said to the contrary. (g) *Mecænas*, equally famous for his Credit with the Emperor, and for his Love

(g) *Mecænas*, descended from the Kings of *Etruria*, had a prodigious Interest in *Augustus's* Court. He was endow'd with all the Qualities fit for a Gentleman; but was so very modest withall, that he chose always to continue what he was, a Roman Knight, tho' he might have been promoted to a higher Degree whenever he pleas'd. *Augustus* had a particular Value for him, and consulted him upon the most important Occasions. He had in short so great an Opinion of his Wisdom, that at any time when he was obliged to leave *Rome* and *Italy*, he entrusted the Government in the Hands of *Mecænas*. The only Use this Favourite made of his Credit, was to do Good Offices, and especially to Men of Learning, whose Patron he profess'dly was. He declared his Sentiments to the Emperor with a great deal of Liberty; whereof Historians give the following Instance. One day, as *Augustus* was sitting in his Court for the Administration of Justice, he shew'd a great Inclination to condemn several Persons to die. *Mecænas* being inform'd of it, and sitting at too great a Distance to speak to him, he threw him his Pocket-Book, where the Emperor read these bold Words, *Arise, Hangman,*

and he gone. This generous Correction saved the Lives of all the Criminals. 'Twas remark'd, that *Augustus* never took Offence at any Liberty *Mecænas* us'd; but was rather glad to be told of his Faults by a Man he loved. However, their Friendship began to cool a little, when *Mecænas* discover'd *Augustus's* Flames on the account of his Wife *Terentia*, with whom he fell desperately in Love. 'Tis even reported, that from this time forward *Mecænas* had not so great a Share in the Emperor's Favour. After all, without vindicating *Terentia's* Amours, *Mecænas* had deserv'd more to be pity'd, had he himself been faithful to his Spouse: But every body knows how assiduously he made his Court to the Wife of *Sulpicius Galba*, whom he visited every day after Dinner, while her Husband was taking his Nap. *Galba* was resolv'd to let *Mecænas* know that he was not ignorant of his Kindness for his Wife; so one day, he invites that Favourite to Dinner. The Repast being over, *Galba* pretended to fall asleep; but a Footman who thought to reap some Advantage also from his Slumbers, taking a Bottle of exquisite Wine, to fill himself a Glass, *Galba* spy'd him, and cry'd out, *Sirrah, you Rascal!*

of

of Learning and Learned Men; *Agrippa*, *Cæsar's* Favourite, celebrated for his Victories and his Wisdom; *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, Sons to the Empress *Livia*, being honour'd with the highest Dignities, were next in Rank to *Augustus*. *Julius Anthony*, Son of the *Triumvir*, advanced to the highest Dignities; *Cinna*, Grand-Son of *Pompey the Great*; *Murena*, Brother-in-Law to *Mecænas*; *Julius Florus* related to the Family of *Cæsar*; *Varus*, famous for his great Exploits, and afterward for his Defeat; *Lollius*, in great Reputation with *Cæsar*; *Silanus*, nearly related to the Emperor; *Crispinus*, honour'd with the Consulate; *Sestius*, so highly esteem'd by *Augustus*, for the Observance he paid to the Memory of (b) *Brutus*; *Scæva*; *Gracchus*, of the illustrious Family of the *Gracchi*; *Cicero*, Son of the (i) Orator;

I do not sleep for every body: Puer! Non omnibus dormio. Some Historians give *Mecænas* the Credit of inventing Short-hand, which others attribute to *Tiro*, made Free by *Cicero*. It was observ'd of *Mecænas*, that he never was a day free from the Fever.

(b) *Lucius Sestius*, Senator of *Rome*, was so fast a Friend to *Brutus*, that after having follow'd his Fortune in all the Wars, he had the Generosity, upon his Death, to pay Publick Honour to his Memory, and to preserve his Images, without fearing *Augustus's* Resentment upon that score. And the Emperor, admiring the inviolable Fidelity of *Sestius* to his old Friend even after his Decease, had so great an Esteem for him, that after many other Marks of his Favour, he advanced him to the Consulate in the Year 731.

(i) *Marcus Cicero*, Son of the Orator, escaped I know

not how the Fury of the *Triumvirate's* Proscriptions. He had neither the Learning, nor the Merit of his Father; but, on the contrary, was addicted to many Vices, and especially to Excess of Wine, which made him often-times Guilty of Actions by no means becoming a Gentleman. Witness the Affront he offer'd to *Agrippa*, Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, in whose Face he had the Insolence to throw his Glass one day when they were at Table together. As *Augustus* had given up *Cicero* the Orator to *Mark Anthony's* Resentment, very much against the grain; he was glad of an Opportunity to make the Son amends for the Hardships suffer'd by the Father. In short, he no sooner saw himself vested with Authority, but he restored young *Cicero* to all his Estate, and did him the Honour to make him his Collegue in the
Asprenas,

Asprenas, and a great many more, made very considerable Figures at *Augustus's* Court.

The Muses were cultivated by such able Masters, as have not been perfectly imitated ever since. *Ovid*, the politest Gentleman in *Rome*, and the best vers'd in the *Art of Love*, was the Grace as well as Delight of the Court, for his inimitable Genius, and his easy Compositions. (k) *Virgil*

Consulate. *Cicero* employ'd the Power and Credit derived to him by this Office, to revenge the Sufferings of his Family upon the Memory of *Mark Anthony*. He order'd his Statues every where to be taken down; and procured a Decree of the Senate, whereby People were not only forbid to honour his Memory, but his Relations were prohibited to take the Name of *Mark*, in Hatred to that *Triumvir*; so that young *Mark Anthony* was obliged to change his Name to *Julius*. *Augustus* would not deny such a small Satisfaction to the Consul's Resentment, inasmuch as he always retain'd a great Esteem for the Family of *Cicero*, upon account of that Orator's Vertues and Merit. We are told, for Instance of it, that *Cæsar* going one day to visit a Nephew of his, and surprizing him with one of *Cicero's* Books in his Hand, the young Prince endeavour'd to convey it away privately, that the Emperor might not see it; for he thought he would be angry with him for reading the Works of a Man in whose Death his Majesty had been concern'd. But *Augustus* demanded to see the Book, read Part of it standing, and then return'd it to his Nephew, with Words to this effect: *He was*

a Learned Man, my Son, and had his Country very much at Heart.

(k) *Virgil* needs none of our Commendation. His Works have acquired him a Glory and Reputation as lasting as the World. He was of *Mantua*, or rather of a Village near *Mantua*. He was born in a Ditch; for his Mother, it seems, being in the Fields, was seiz'd so suddenly with the Pangs of Labour, that she had not Time to choose a better Place for Lying in. 'Tis said that *Virgil* did not cry at his Birth. This Poet was very intimate with *Mecænas*, who was the Protector and Benefactor of the Learned and Ingenious; and he was introduced by him to *Augustus*, who honour'd him with his Friendship, and made him several Presents, which *Virgil* does not forget to acknowledge, in singing the Vertues, and glorious Actions of that Prince. *Virgil* died at *Brundisium*, (now *Brindisi*) aged Fifty one, just as he was going to revise his Works. His Body was carry'd to *Naples*, according to his Order; and a Tomb was erected for him in the great Road to *Puteoli*, or *Pozzuolo*. Monsieur *de Guise*, in his *Memoires*, says, it is of white Marble, rais'd in the Form of a Dome, upon

was

was admired for the Brightness of his Parts, and the Delicacy of his Thoughts and Expressions:

(1) *Horace*, for the Fineness of his Satyr, and the

the Top of which there has always been a Laurel-Tree, which lives without Earth. He adds, that when one Laurel-Tree dies, another sprouts forth, as if Nature herself would honour and perpetuate the Memory of that Poet, by the Miracle of the Laurel-Tree, whose Branches were always made use of to crown the great Poets and Conquerors. *Virgil* was well shaped, but grievously incommoded with Distempers, especially the *Asthma*, which would often almost suffocate him. They engraved upon his Tomb-Stone these two Verses, which he composed himself:

*Mantua me genuit; Calabri
rapuere; tenet nunc
Patheope. Cecini pascua,
rura, duces.*

(1) *Horace* is no less famous than *Virgil*. He was born at *Venusia*, a Town situate upon the Borders of *Apulia*; and his Father, who was Son to one Enfranchised, or made Free, having got a little Money in an Office belonging to the Treasury, he carry'd our Poet to *Rome*, and had him educated like a Person of Quality. Neither were his Father's Cares or his Expences ill bestow'd; for *Horace* learnt all that a Gentleman's Son of the first Rank needs to know; and to add Philosophy to the other Sciences, he went to *Athens*. But the Civil Wars soon interrupted his Studies. *Cæsar* being kill'd, and *Brutus* retired into *Macedonia*, *Horace*, who was under his Protection, follow'd that Senator's For-

tune, who gave him a Post in his Army: But not being cut out for a Soldier, he took his Leave of *Brutus* at the Battle of *Philippi*, and return'd to *Rome*, where finding himself destitute both of Patron and of Money, he apply'd himself to the making of Verses. Some of his Odes fell into the Hands of *Virgil* and *Varius*, who were then in great Reputation at *Rome*, and well acquainted with *Mecænas*. They gave such an extraordinary Character of this new sort of Verses, as created in *Mecænas* an earnest Desire to see their Author: And thus was *Horace* introduced to *Mecænas*, who soon became acquainted with the young Poet's admirable Wit, took a particular Delight in his Conversation, and presented him to *Augustus*. *Horace* now employ'd his Poetical Talent in celebrating the Victories of the Emperor, and the Praises of *Mecænas*, *Agrippa*, and the rest of the principal Lords of the Court. And it was not till after he had gain'd their Friendship, and secured their Protection, that he set about his Satyrs, where he is very severe upon such as he thought deserv'd his Censure. *Horace* was a little, sore-eyed Man, being troubled with a *Fistula lacrymalis*. Whence *Augustus* once in Rallery said, he lov'd to have *Horace* and *Virgil* in his Company, because he was then between Tears and Sighs; alluding to the one's *Fistula* and the other's *Asthma*. This Poet died at the Age of Fifty Seven.

Agree-

Agreableness of his Temper. There were beside, *Propertius, Varius, Tibullus, Cornelius Gallus, Quintilius* a Roman Knight, *Aristius Pollio*, and many other Great Men, equally famous for their Learning and their Birth; some of whom celebrated *Cæsar's* Victories; others composed Pieces of Wit and Humour; and others sung their own Amours under borrow'd Names, or censured the Morals of their Times.

On the other hand, the Empress *Livia*; *Octavia*, Sister to *Augustus*; his two Nieces, Sisters to *Marcellus*; *Antonia*, Wife to *Drusus*, and another *Antonia*, Wife of *Domitius Ænobarbus*, both Daughters to *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir*; *Scribonia*, divorced by *Augustus*; *Servilia*, who had likewise been his Wife; *Claudia*, Daughter of *Claudius* and *Fulvia*; *Agrippina*, Daughter to *Agrippa*; *Terentia*, Wife of *Mecænas*, and *Cæsar's* Mistress; *Vipsania*; *Urgulania* and *Prisca*, the Empress's Favourites; *Favilia*, related to *Augustus*; *Hortensia*, famous for her (*m*) Eloquence; *Cornelia*, and many more Ladies of the highest Merit, shone at the Emperor's Court: But none to that Advantage, as the Princess *Julia*. She was then in the sweetest Bloom of Beauty; and as she was the Lady that was to give Successors to *Cæsar*, it was to her that all the Persons of Rank and Distinction at *Rome* assiduously made their Court;

(*m*) *Hortensia*, Daughter of the celebrated Orator *Hortensius*, was no less the Heiress of her Father's Eloquence, than of his Name. She gave an admirable Instance of this one day before the *Triumviri*, who having laid a heavy Tax upon the Roman Ladies, they had a mind to demand their Discharge, and the Annulling of that unheard-of Duty. But they could not find an Advocate that durst undertake the Defence of the Ladies Cause before the Three Tyrants, who

at that time did not study the Pink of Courtesy. *Hortensia* had the Generosity they could not meet with in any of the contrary Sex. She prepared a noble Discourse; and having obtain'd the Favour of an Audience before the *Triumviri*, she pleaded the Ladies Cause with such an Eloquence and Politeness, that tho' she did not succeed in procuring the entire Abolishment of the Impost, she had the Glory of getting it reduced to a very Trifle.

some,

some, as being captivated by her Charms; others, to do Honour to the Emperor; and others again, to obtain some Favour of *Augustus*, by the Interest of the Princess his Daughter.

* *Cæsar* was not long to seek for a Husband * *Sueton.*
for her; but after a little Consideration, cast his ^{in Aug.}
Eyes upon his Favourite *Agrippa*. † *Mecænas* de- † *Dio*,
termin'd him to this Choice. That wise Courtier ^{lib. 54.}
had used to tell the Emperor his Sentiments with
a great deal of Candor and Sincerity, nay, some-
times with a Liberty that favour'd of Disrespect;
but *Augustus* never took any thing amiss at his
Hands, because he was satisfy'd *Mecænas* had
nothing but his Master's Glory in View. They
were one day in Conversation together, when *Aug-*
ustus artfully turn'd it upon *Agrippa*, and desired
Mecænas to tell him truly what he thought of
him. *Mecænas* began to consider the high Posts
Agrippa fill'd; and that the Victories he had gain'd,
had not only recommended him to them, but
had moreover render'd him extremely Popu-
lar; and thereupon he boldly answer'd *Cæsar*,
Sir, you have rais'd Agrippa so high, that either
you must dispatch him, or make him your Son-in-Law.
An Example of Generosity very rare among Cour-
tiers, who are no less industrious to hinder other
Mens Rise, than to advance their own Fortunes; as
if the Promotion of others kept themselves back.

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was not of noble De-
scendant; but he || effaced the Obscurity of his Birth, || *Tacit.*
by the Lustre of his great Actions both in a ^{*Annal. 1.*}
Civil and Military Capacity, which rais'd him to ^{*cap. 3.*}
the highest Pitch of Glory that it is possible for
a Favourite to reach, and render'd him § worthy § *Vell. Pa-*
of those high Posts and glorious Offices, which ^{*terc. Hist.*}
signalized his Courage, his Conduct, his Honesty, ^{*lib. 2.*}
and Integrity. He was an experienced, valiant,
and successful General; a good Soldier; a wise
Counsellor; a disinterested Courtier, and an able
Statesman.

Statesman. But beside these Qualities, which make a Man Great; he had all those Vertues which make a Man Good. He was an Enemy to Dissimulation, a sincere Friend, firm to his Promises, free from Envy, and genteel in his Behaviour. His Prosperity did not make him forget himself; and however great his Interest was with *Cæsar*, he was not at all the haughtier, or harder of Access for it. He was, on the contrary, always courteous, moderate, kind, and ready to do Good-Offices. And thus in an Employ the most exposed to Envy, he acquired to himself the general Esteem of all the Empire, and preserv'd it by a thousand Instances of Goodness that he gave to every body who ask'd them. In a word, no Man was sorry to see him advanced to the Rank to which *Augustus* rais'd him, by giving him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage.

* *Sueton.*
in *Aug.*

Agrippa was already nearly enough related to the Emperor; for * he had actually for his Wife *Marcella*, Daughter to *Octavia*, who was *Cæsar's* Sister. Wherefore, *Augustus*, before he marry'd *Julia* to *Agrippa*, dealt handsomely by *Octavia*, and desired her to resign her Son-in-Law, and to consent that he might be his: After which, *Agrippa* repudiated *Marcella*, and marry'd the Princess *Julia*. The Issue by this Marriage were *Caius Cæsar*, and *Lucius Cæsar*, whom *Augustus* adopted; *Julia*, marry'd to *Lucius Paulus*; and *Agrippina*, Wife to *Germanicus*.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 1.

Agrippa was too old to please *Julia*, who was very young and had so many Charms; so that Chastity was not what she most pretended to. Rather regardless of her Reputation, she gave Ear to the passionate Addresses of as many as insinuated themselves into her Company, and rewarded with the last Favours the Torments of her numerous Votaries. *Gracchus* was one of the first that had this Happiness: The † Nobleness of his Extraction,

Extraction, the Gracefulness of his Person, and the Talent of finely expressing his Sentiments, gain'd him those Marks of *Julia's* Love, which cost him so dear at the long run. *Quintus Crispinus*, a * Person who had been Consul, and * *Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.* under the grim and austere Countenance of rigid Vertue, conceal'd in his Heart a large Stock of Wickedness and Villany, was also one of *Julia's* Favourites. *Julius Anthony* likewise gain'd her Love, and receiv'd the most endearing Pledges of it. In a word, *Scipio*, *Appius Claudius*, and several others partook of *Julia's* Favours; nor was there a *Roman* of that base Degree, as not to dare attack her Honour on this Quarter.

Intrigues thus publick must needs be known to all the Town. She became the Subject of Rallery in all Conversations. Not only the vile Persons to whom she so indiscreetly prostituted herself, made her the Jest of all their Entertainments; but unconcern'd at whatever People said of her, she was herself the Trumpeter of her own Infamy, and the forwardest in proclaiming and laughing at her Debaucheries. 'Tis reported of her, that being ask'd one day by some of her Gallants, how it came to pass, that her Children were so like *Agrippa*, who was not perhaps the Father of them? she pleasantly answer'd, that (n) *she took no Passenger into her Boat till it had its Lading*; thus turning what ought to have been her Shame and Confusion, into a Subject of Rallery and Diversion.

I know not how far what they say of *Augustus*, as if he carry'd his Love to *Julia* to a Criminal Height, may deserve to be credited: But the too great Complaisance he shew'd her, † gave Birth to † *Aural.
Vell. Epit.
in Aug.* Suspicions not at all in his Favour, and *Ovid's* Banishment confirm'd those Surmizes. We are as-

(n) *Nunquam, nisi plena navis, tollo vectorem.* Macrob. lib. 11. cap. 5.

fured,

* *Sueton.*
in *Caio.*

fured, that this Poet, who was for a considerable time the Ornament of *Rome*, being in Love with *Julia*, by whom it is very certain he was not hated, happen'd one day to surprize the Emperor taking Liberties with his Daughter, which did not become a Father. Sad Accident for *Ovid*! whose Curiosity was severely punish'd with a rigorous Banishment, tho' it was attributed to a Crime of another sort. But whether the Emperor was innocent or guilty, 'tis well known *Caligula* * did not stick to declare afterward, that his Mother *Agrippina* was the Fruit of the incestuous Amours of *Augustus* and *Julia*.

† *Vell. Pa-*
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

This Princess recover'd her Freedom a second time by the Death of *Agrippa*. He was generally lamented by all that knew him, and particularly by *Augustus*, who partly ow'd his Fortune to that Gentleman's Wisdom in the Senate, and his Valour in the Field. *Julia* was with Child at the time of his Death, and not long after lay in of a Son, call'd the Posthumous *Agrippa*. You will easily be perswaded, that she soon comforted herself upon the Loss of a Husband, who knowing too much of her Intrigues, could not but have a very bad Opinion of her. Her Mourning therefore was a Mourning of Ceremony and Decency, rather than of real Sorrow; for hardly was *Agrippa* cold in his Grave, when *Julia* passing again from the Yoak of Conjugal Subjection to the Liberty of Independence, and consequently finding herself under no Restraint; for she was rarely troubled with her Father's Presence, whom the † Revolt of several Provinces frequently obliged to leave *Rome*; suffer'd herself to be carry'd down with the Torrent of her Inclination, and made it a Law with her, never to resist the impetuous Salleys of a boiling Passion, nor the Suggestions of a Heart enflamed with a thousand Desires, which the

the unhappy Liberty she enjoy'd, gave her Opportunities of gratifying.

A Conduct so irregular was no Secret to *Tiberius*, who in *Marcellus's* Life-time had experienced by anticipated Favours, that *Julia* was not very cruel. It was however to this Gentleman, that *Augustus* * gave his Daughter, after he had * *Sueton.*
long waver'd, whether he should take a Son-in-Law *in Aug. 63.*
from the Equestrian Order, or that of the Senators *in Tib. 7.* It went very much against the grain of *Livia's* Son, to see himself obliged to divorce his Wife *Agrippina*, by whom he had had *Drusus*, and lov'd him more than ordinary upon the account of his Wisdom, to marry *Julia*, with whose Vices he was not unacquainted: But as it was the Emperor that commanded, and it was beside a Step to the Throne, his Ambition soon removed his Scruples; he repudiated *Agrippina*, and espoused *Julia*. 'Twas soon remark'd, how much against his Will he had put away his former Wife; for meeting her accidentally one day in the Street, his Countenance changed, and betray'd such an Emotion, that every body perceiv'd his Heart was not yet cured of the Wound it had receiv'd, and that *Agrippina* was not indifferent to him. Whereupon she was advised to keep out of his way, and avoid meeting him; lest *Tiberius* should neglect *Julia*, in proportion as he found his Inclination for his former Spouse revive in him.

These Precautions being taken, a pretty good Harmony was observ'd to reign between the new-marry'd Couple. It was even hoped, their reciprocal Love was well establish'd; but these *Halcyon* Days were not of long Continuance. *Tiberius* grew jealous, and not without Reason, of his Spouse's Fidelity; and *Julia* despised her Husband, whom she look'd upon as her Inferior, and whose morose and sullen Temper was an unsuffer-

* Sueton.
in Tib.
c. 7.

able Restraint upon the Gaiety and Vivacity of her Heart. Thus did the Links of Matrimony become heavy Chains to this unhappy Pair; till at last their Antipathy ran so high, especially after the Death of a Son that was born to them at *Aquileia*, that * an Historian tells us, they parted Beds.

Then it was, that *Julia*, regardless of all Measures, flew out, and gave herself up to the lowdest Excesses, from which it was impossible to recover her. The best adapted Considerations to stem the Torrent of a head-strong Passion, were too feeble to resist the impetuous Salleys of *Julia's* Lust. Her Lasciviousness effaced all that ever Duty could dictate; and neither the Reproaches with which she was cover'd, nor the high Birth which she disgraced, nor yet *Augustus's* Displeasure, which must be the Consequence of her lewd Courses, could set her free from the Enchantment of her Darling Pleasures. All who went about to convince her of her Mistakes, were so many rash and irksome Censors to her. Reason, Decency, and the Laws of Modesty could never insinuate themselves with that Princess. The only Lessons she hearken'd to, were those of Libertinism read her by her Paramours: Wretched Debauchees! who by the Poison of their abominable Maxims, easily instill'd their corrupt Sentiments into *Julia's* fenceless Heart.

† Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

As it was impossible for *Tiberius* to sit an easy Spectator of all these Disorders, he resolv'd to quit *Rome*; and cover'd his Retreat under the specious Pretence of relieving his Fatigues. He had a very hard Struggle however, to obtain Leave so to do. His Mother *Livia* † opposed it with her Prayers and her Tears; and the Emperor, by the moving Complaints he made to the Senate, that *Tiberius* was going to abandon him. Nevertheless, when they saw how firmly he per-
sisted

sisted in his Resolution, they were both * obliged * *Tacit.*
 to consent to his Departure; for he abstain'd *Annal. 1.*
 from † eating any thing, the four Days they † *Sueton.*
 stood out. He left *Rome* therefore, laden with *in Tib.*
 Grief, and wrapt in Melancholy; and going down *c. 10.*
 to *Ostia* with all possible Privacy, he there em-
 barqued, without taking his Leave of any body,
 on board a Vessel bound to *Rhodes*, where he
 arrived and spent many a tedious Moment.

We read that several Reasons induced *Tiberius*
 to withdraw. He was afraid of giving Umbrage
 to the Princes *Lucius* and *Caius*; or rather, he
 could not bear the Sight of their Advancement
 to the highest Dignities, no more than the Thought
 of their Right to succeed *Augustus* in the Empire.
 He imagined, on the other hand, that his Ab-
 sence would render him more considerable, in
 proportion as it made him more necessary: For,
 rating the Services he had done the Republick
 pretty high in his own Account, he fancy'd they
 could not do without him. But the abominable
 Lewdness of his Wife was undoubtedly the prin-
 cipal Cause of his leaving *Rome*; and yet he was
 so far from daring to repudiate her, that he was
 obliged to be silent and passive, for fear of *Au-*
gustus's Displeasure, in whose Opinion he knew
Julia labour'd to ruin him, by the continual
 Complaints with which she kept pestering him in
 her Letters. These Pieces are said to have been
 the Work of one of her Gallants; but be that as
 it will, 'tis certain *Tiberius's* Picture was drawn
 in them with all the disadvantageous Strokes that
 could render him vile and odious.

Tiberius's Absence furnish'd *Julia* with an Op-
 portunity to complete her Ruin: For having now
 no Check at all upon her Passions, she gave them
 the Reins, and let them hurry her whither they
 would. Thus her natural Propensity to Evil be-
 ing confirm'd by Habit, she in time contracted

a fatal Incapacity of becoming Wife. Senators, Knights, and Consuls, all feasted themselves upon her Dainties. Her Forehead never knew what it was to blush. She was none of those sly Wantons, that hide their Sin and their Shame under the Veil of an exterior Modesty; as if Dishonour and Reproach were due only to the more Publick Transgressors: No; such Caution would have been a grievous Constraint upon *Julia*; and it was too hard a Task for her, to reconcile her Temper and Inclination with the Rules of Decency. She * received her Lovers by Troops; foolishly revel'd with them all Night in the Streets of *Rome*; then went with them to their Entertainments, and tarry'd till she thought it Time to go and ‡ defile all Parts of the Town with her Prostitutions; not sparing the very *Rostra* itself, from which her Father † had caus'd such severe Laws to be promulg'd against Adulterers: So far was she from keeping any Measures in the shameful Indulgence of her furious Lust. Neither yet was that impudent Action the utmost Stretch of her detestable Lewdness; but stifling in herself all Sense of Shame, and even of Reason, and glorying in the most abominable Crimes, a Whim § took her in the Head to fix as many Garlands every day upon (p) *Marsyas's* Statue, as she had made Expeditions the Night before.

* *Admissos
gregatim
adulteros.*

‡ *Dio,
lib. 54.
Xiph. in
Aug.*

† *Vell. Pa-
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.*

§ *Plinius,
lib. 21. c. 11.
Seneca,
de benef.*

(p) *Marsyas* was a Native of *Phrygia*, noted for playing finely upon the *Flute*. He had so great an Opinion of his Performances on this Instrument, that he ventured to challenge *Apollo* himself. The God, however, came off victoriously; and to chastise the insolent Presumption of his rash Competitor, he slew him alive. Others say, *Marsyas* was a Minister of *Bacchus*. His Statue was erected in all the Free

Towns, as a Mark of their Liberty, because *Bacchus* had the Appellation of *Liber*, which signifies *Free*. Be that as it will, there was at *Rome* a Statue of *Marsyas*, in the *Roman* Fort; which was either a Monument of the City's Liberties, or of *Apollo's* Victory. In process of Time, it became a Custom among the Lawyers to place upon this Statue as many Crowns, or Garlands, as they had gain'd

To

To report such crying and flagrant Sins of *Augustus's* Daughter, would be to expose one's self to Incredulity, did not the Authors of best Repute testify the Truth of what we have said. But how grievous must it be, to see the only Daughter of the Sovereign of the Universe, bid Defiance to all Shame, and abandon herself to the most infamous Practices; taking Pride in her filthy Pleasures, and glorying in the most shocking Enormities? They were such, as at last came to the Emperor's Knowledge, but too late for him to redress them. A great Misfortune this for Princes, to be the last inform'd of what passes in their Families, tho' they hear of every thing that is done abroad.

Some will have it however, that *Augustus* was not ignorant of his Daughter's scandalous Behaviour; but that he heard from time to time how little her Actions comported either with her Birth or her Rank. But whether it was, that he disbeliev'd the Reports which he certainly wish'd to be false; or whether the Multiplicity of his Affairs and frequent Journeys would not give him Time to go to the bottom of *Julia's* base Intrigues; or lastly, whether he had a dishonourable Regard to her himself; he left her at full liberty to do as she pleas'd, till tired out with hearing Stories of her Lewdness, he at length abandon'd himself to the most poignant Grief he had ever felt in his Life.

It was some time before he could be dissuaded from the Use of violent Methods to punish his Daughter. Nay between whiles he would resolve to put her to Death; and by and by she should end her Days in a miserable Exile. The Consideration of her innumerable Debauches, whereof

Causes; and it was in Imitation of them, that *Julia* eam | *illa nocturna palaestra, valentissimos colluctatores experta erat; says Muretus upon Seneca.*

they had given him a long and mortifying Detail, cover'd him with so much Shame and Confusion, that he hid himself for several days together, and would suffer no Soul to come near him: But furcharged with all those Anxieties which in such Cases must oppress a Parent's Mind, and ashamed to see his own Glory and that of his Family thus tarnish'd with the foulest Actions, he was exasperated against *Julia* to a degree beyond Secrecy or Forbearance. He wrote the Senate a long Letter, giving them an Account of his Daughter's Crimes; and it was couch'd in such moving Terms, as convinced every body of the Extremity of the Emperor's Affliction.

Nevertheless, the Affection he still retain'd for *Julia* was so great, that these first Emotions of his Wrath were soon follow'd by Repentance. He repented, that he had made her Crimes so publick, instead of prudently concealing what he had unhappily been so long ignorant of, or till then refused Credit to; and in these violent and tumultuous Agitations of his Soul, he curs'd his Daughter, the Cause of all his Grief; and lamented the Loss of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, who by their wise Counsels would have prevented his Misfortunes, or at least have taken off the Bitterness and Anguish of them. So true it is, that the Loss of a sincere and disinterested Friend is difficult to repair; for *Augustus*, among so many Millions of Subjects, could not pick out Two Men fit to substitute in the room of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, and make up their Loss to him.

However, the Emperor would not suffer the insolent Temerity of *Julia's* Admirers to go unpunish'd. He order'd a strict Examination of that Affair; but did not punish them all with the same Severity. In the first Transport of his Fury, he fell foul on one of the Criminals; and, forgetting his Dignity for a while, condescended

to

to beat him with his Fist; till at last the Person reproaching him with Non-Observance of the Laws made by himself to regulate the Punishment of Adulterers, he was * so ashamed of his Passion, that he appear'd no more all that day. *Sempronius Gracchus* was banish'd to *Cercina*, an Island upon the Coast of *Africa*, near *Tunis*; where *Tiberius* afterward caus'd him to be put to Death, in Revenge for the Injury he had done him. *Crispinus*, *Claudius*, and *Scipio* were obliged likewise to go into Exile; a Punishment, in the general Opinion, too moderate for their Crime.

* *Plutarch*.
Tacitus,
Annal 1.
V. Patere.
Seneca,
de clem.

'Twas not so with regard to *Julius Anthony*, the most illustrious, and at the same time the most unfortunate of all *Julia's* Admirers. He was indeed the most Guilty of any of them; and justly fell a Sacrifice therefore to *Cæsar's* Resentment. He had infinite Obligations to the Emperor; for after the Battle of *Actium*, and the Death of *Mark Anthony*, *Augustus* gave a singular Instance of Goodness and Generosity, in granting his Enemy's Son his Life; and not only so, but he advanced him to the † Priesthood, the Prelacy, the Consulate, to several Governments, and lastly to his Alliance, by marrying him to a Daughter of his Sister *Octavia*. And yet, after all these Honours conferr'd upon him by *Cæsar*, *Julius Anthony*, infatuated with *Julia's* Charms, forgot every thing which he ought to have opposed to their Power, indulged his Passion for that Princess, and had the Misfortune to please her. In short, following the Dictates of corrupt, ungenerous Nature, he debauched the Daughter of the best Friend he had in the World. Ingratitude! not to be expiated but by his Blood.

† *Vell. P. 3.*
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

Some relate, that he ran voluntarily upon Death, to prevent that which was due to his Crime: Others, that he was condemn'd to die by the formal Sentence of a Court of Justice, upon full Proof of the double Charge of High-

Treason and Adultery. But be that as it will, the Favours which *Julia* shew'd him, cost *Julius Anthony* his Life, so that Love proved no less fatal to him, than to his (p) Father.

Neither was that Princess finally exempt from the Punishment of her Gallants; for *Augustus* condemn'd her at last to the Penalty which her Debauches had long call'd for: And to put it out of her Power to furnish Matter for farther Crimes, he banish'd her to the Isle of *Pandateria*; where still apprehending she would receive her wanton Visitors, he most expressely forbid all Persons whomsoever to presume to go to the said Island without his Permission. And when any one went to ask his Consent, he narrowly * examin'd into his Age, his Shape, the Colour of his Hair, the Air of his Face, the Defects, and particular Marks he had about him, to † hinder, if possible, any of her old Acquaintance from passing over in Disguise. He even fancy'd, that in case his Vigilance should fail him, and *Julia* should get any of her Lovers to her, he should know him again by the Description of his Person, or by the Marks of the Child, if any there should be, and the Resemblance of Faces.

* *Dio,*
lib. 54.

† *Sueton.*
in Aug.

Phæbe, whom *Julia* had enfranchis'd, and not only made an Associate in her Crimes, but the Confidante of her Amours and Libertinism, made a terrible Example of herself, and prevented the Punishment her Crimes deserv'd. Scared with the Horrour of her vile Prostitutions, she hang'd herself in Despair; and *Augustus* hearing it, protested that he wish'd from the bottom of his Soul, *Julia* had follow'd her Example. Nor could it be doubted but he spoke sincerely; because he was known to have less Concern for the Death

(p) *Julius Anthony* left a Son very young, named *Lucius Antonius*; whom *Augustus* banish'd to *Marseilles*, under Pretence of sending him thither to perform his Studies.

of

of any of his Family, than for their Ignominy; and we read, that he curs'd his Fate as often as he remember'd his Daughter, the other *Julia* his Grand-Daughter, who proved as lewd as her Mother, and the Posthumous *Agrippa*, whom he call'd his three Impostumes.

Tiberius was still at (q) *Rhodes*, wasting the tardy Hours between Impatience and Chagrin, when News was brought him of what had pass'd at Court, and of the Punishment which the Emperor had inflicted upon *Julia*. He was mightily pleas'd that they had revenged the Injuries he had receiv'd at her hands; but being a perfect Master of the Art of concealing his Sentiments, he feign'd a sort of Compassion for that Princess. He wrote an artful Letter to the Emperor, desiring him not to extinguish all Sparks of Goodness for his Daughter, but to wink at her Infirmities, which perhaps had been aggravated beyond the Truth; to make some Allowances for the Vivacity of her Youth and the Frame of her Constitution; and to abate of his Severity, if not for hers, yet for his sake: Thus making Shew of a great Affection for his Wife, and a true Concern for her Misfortunes, tho' at the same time he was overjoy'd that she had met with a Punishment in some degree adequate to her Crimes.

The People, touch'd with a Sense of *Julia's* Suffering's, pleaded for her Pardon and Return,

(q) *Rhodes* was formerly a City of great Note, situate in an Island of the same Name. There was a Statue of the Sun, made by *Chares* the *Indian*, 70 Cubits high; call'd the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*: And hence, according to some, the *Rhodians* had the Name of *Colossians*; but *Monsieur Godeau* is not of that Opinion. A Man could hardly encompass the Thumb of this Statue with his two Arms. It was

placed at the Entrance of the Harbour; and the largest Ships pass'd between his Legs under full Sail. This *Colossus* having stood fifty six Years, was thrown down by an Earthquake. The Knights of *S. John of Jerusalem* were a long while in Possession of this Island, till it was taken by the *Turks* in 1522. Some Authors say, there is not a day in the Year so cloudy, but the Sun makes his Appearance at *Rhodes*.

with

with much more Sincerity, but not with better Success. *Augustus* was deaf to all their Intreaties, and swore heartily to them, that Fire and Water should sooner be reconciled, than *Julia* be recall'd. Nevertheless, his Rigour and Obstinacy serv'd only to redouble the Peoples Affections for the Princess. They renew'd their Intreaties therefore; and to unshackle the Emperor from his Oath, and put him in a Way to send for *Julia* again without the Charge of Perjury, they cast into the *Tyber* a great Number of lighted Torches, for the sake of the ridiculous Prodigy of blending Fire and Water together. *Augustus*, still inexorable with regard to *Julia*, persisted in his Resolution; till hearing that they were determin'd to go and fetch her home, he changed the Place of her Exile, and order'd her to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, then call'd *Julium Rhesium*; where she was treated with rather less Rigour. But this was after he had, in *Tiberius's* Name, annul'd the Contract of Marriage that was made between them.

At length *Augustus* dying, it was believ'd *Julia's* Exile would have ended with her Father's Life, and that *Tiberius* would have recall'd that Princess, in whose behalf he had so generously interposed. But this new Emperor soon convinced the *Romans*, that Policy had a much greater Share in his Intercession, than real Love. *Julia's* Vices had caus'd him too much Pain to be forgiven. He was no sooner fix'd in the Throne therefore, but he forgot what he had written to *Augustus* in her Favour. He confined her to her House; deprived her of what little Money her Father *Augustus* had left her; stopt the Pension he assign'd her, under pretence that it was not mention'd in his Will; and in short, us'd her so severely, that she perish'd with Hunger and Misery. A Princess the less to be pity'd, because her Crimes deserv'd no milder a Punishment.

LIVIA



LIVIA ORESTILLA,
 LOLLIA PAULINA,
 AND
 C E S O N I A;
 CONSORTS
 TO
 CAIUS CALIGULA.



HE Emperor Caius was the Son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He was * furnished Caligula, from the Caliga, * Tacit. Annal. i. a sort of Buskin worne by the Soldiers, among whom he was (a) bred.

This Education † gain'd him the Affection of the † Sueton. in Cai.

(a) Caius Caesar Caligula was born upon the last day of August, in the Consulate of his Father and C. Fonteius Capito. Whether it was at Antium, Tibur, or Treves, is nothing to our purpose: But 'tis certain, it happen'd in some Place where the Legions commanded by Germanicus had their Winter-Quarters; and

that it was look'd upon as a happy Omen of his future Advancement. Accordingly, when he ascended the Imperial Throne, the following Distich appear'd abroad, which plainly intimates as much.

*In castris genitus, patriis
 nutritus in armis,
 Jam designati Principis
 omen erat.*

Troops.

Troops. He pass'd his younger Days with *Tiberius* in the Island of *Capra*, where he was an Eye-Witness of all the filthy Pleasures in which that abandon'd Emperor wallow'd, under Covert of the Darknes of his solitary Retreat; and he became afterward as filthy an Imitator of him. Here it was, that he learnt the Art of Dissimulation, so necessary and useful in the Courts of Princes; and that admirable Address in accommodating himself to *Tiberius's* capricious and dangerous Humour, from whom he conceal'd his corrupt Sentiments with such a profound Skill, that he had the Secret of keeping in the Emperor's Good-Graces, notwithstanding all the Ambushes laid by his Enemies, and the Contrivances they frequently had, to oblige him to find Fault, that they might thence take an Opportunity to ruin him: Thus deceiving, by an affected Moderation, a ready Compliance, and an entire Submission to *Tiberius's* Will, that very Emperor, so impenetrable in his Designs, so sure in his Discernment, and so artificial in his Expressions: An irksome Office indeed; but 'twas necessary for *Caius* to go thro' it for the Accomplishment of his Designs; which rendering him so different from himself, (for he was naturally proud, haughty, insolent and cruel) made Men afterward say of him, when he came to unmask himself, * *There never was a better Servant, nor a worse Master.*

* *Sueton.*
in *Cai.*
c. 20.

His first Wife was *Junia Claudia*, Daughter of *Junius Silanus*, a Gentleman of a very considerable Family in point of Ancient Nobility. He marry'd her by *Tiberius's* express Command, to whose Desires he always paid too vile a Condescension to betray the least Dislike of the Match: But he was soon comforted upon the Loss of that Lady, who died in Child-Bed; because she could not be of Service to him with regard to his ambitious Views. He wanted one that would be of

Advantage

Advantage to him this way; and *Emmia* was the Person he thought answerable to his purpose. She was Wife to *Macro*, Colonel of the (*b*) *Prætorian* Guards, who succeeded *Sejanus* in his Office and his Interest, tho' he was no honefter a Man than the other. This Lady had an inexhaustible Fund of Ambition; and as her Vanity had been cherish'd by the powerful Credit, and almost absolute Authority of her Husband *Macro*, toward the Conclusion of *Tiberius's* Reign, there was nothing too atrocious for her to attempt, for the perpetuating of her Power and Interest.

Caligula was not very hard put to it for an Audience of a Lady of these Dispositions: Nor is it a Wonder he should fire the Heart of an ambitious Woman, who having always stood well with Fortune, made it her sole Care to secure the happy Continuance of it, by fixing in her Interests the Prince who was shortly to possess the Sovereign Authority. *Caius* therefore took Advantage of her Weakness, fed her up with flattering Hopes, and promis'd to marry her as soon as he came to the Throne, if she would but favour him with her Influence, and oblige *Macro* to speak in his Favour: And to convince her of his Sincerity, he added to the most Solemn Protestations, a written Promise sign'd with his own

(*b*) We gave some Account of the *Prætorian* Guards, pag. 8. They were Soldiers whose Duty was to attend the *Prætor* to the Court call'd *Prætorium*, where he sat for the Tryal of Causes. After the Emperor had deprived the Romans of their Liberties, these *Prætorian* Bands were appointed to guard the Emperor and the City. They had a Camp within the very Walls, and grew so powerful, or rather insolent, that when an Emperor happen'd to be kill'd, they assumed the Authority of electing another, whom the Senate was many times obliged to confirm. *Augustus* made two Colonels of his Guards; and these Colonels or *Præfects* took very much upon them by degrees, and gave Rise to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who from *Constantine's* Reign were the Prime Officers of the Empire. The *Prætorian* Guards had better Pay than the ordinary Forces.

Hand,

Hand, and confirm'd by Oaths enough to satisfy the most obitinate Incredulity; but which it afterward cost him no more to break thro', than it had cost him to make.

* *Sueton.*
in Cai.

† *Tacit.*

These Artifices of *Caius* did not fail of their desired Success. *Ennia*,* dazzled with the Lustre of the Throne, had not the Power to resist the Temptation of *Caius's* glittering Promises, for the Performances of which she had nothing to depend on, but the Word of that tricking and deceitful Prince: And thus she purchas'd her † Hopes of Empire at the Price of anticipated Favours, and shamefully prostituted herself to the Man whose pretended Love was a mere Fetch of his refined Politicks; vainly imagining that *Caligula* would stand to what he had said, and do for her all that he had promis'd while his Fortune was doubtful. But the Worst of this infamous Bargain was, that *Macron*, fond of his Power and Influence, and fearing the Loss of them upon a Change of Government, basely hired himself to *Caligula*, and assisted him in debauching his Wife; in the firm Persuasion, that he must ever reign Favourite of a Prince upon whom he had laid so remarkable an Obligation; and that to make himself such a Friend, he must boggle at nothing. (Some however will have it, that *Macron* knew nothing of the Intimacy between *Caius* and his Wife *Ennia*.) Fatal Blindness this, of the Ambitious Man, not to be ashamed to cover himself with present and substantial Dishonour, in Hopes of future Grandeur, founded upon the Promises of a Courtier, which are generally fallacious, always uncertain. For these deluding Hopes, or rather this foolish Credulity, was the only Motive that could induce the aspiring *Macron* to secure *Caius* to himself by the most infamous Connivance; to espouse his Interests with Ardour, and even at the Expence of his

his Honour; and to determine in that Prince's Favour the wavering and irresolute Mind of old *Tiberius*, so as he should choose *Caligula* for his Successor: Nothing doubting but so signal a Service would always be remember'd by the young Prince, and meet with a suitable Reward. But the selfish Endeavours of that fawning Courtier too plainly intimated his real Views, not to be discern'd by the sagacious Emperor; who, as he was not very easily imposed upon, had a mind to let *Macron* know so much. One day therefore, when that insinuating Courtier had artfully turn'd their Conversation upon *Caius*, and was losing himself in Encomiums of him, *Tiberius* interrupted him and said, with an Air of Indifference, that he * turn'd his Back upon the Setting, to pay his * *Tacit. Annal. 6. cap. 46.*
Court to the Rising Sun. *Dio, l. 58.*

Nevertheless, *Caligula* ill requited, after this, the weighty Obligations *Macron* had laid upon him; even tho' he † was of singular Service to him for the well governing of the Empire. In a word, forgetting that he was indebted for it to *Ennia* and her Husband, and not being able to condescend to *Macron*'s Advice; who looking upon himself as the Maker of his Fortune, thought he had a Right to give it; || Hatred and Ingratitude got Possession of that barbarous Prince's Heart, in the room of Friendship and Acknowledgment; and he sacrificed both *Macron* and his Wife to his brutish Passion. What more flagrant Instance can be given, of the Deceitfulness of Favour, purchas'd at the Expence of Honour and Conscience?

Caligula being deliver'd, by *Tiberius*'s Death, from the heavy and uneasy Yoak of Subjection and Dependence, mounted the Throne of the Empire; whither he is known to have been attended with the Vows and Suffrages of all the † *Aurel. Vict. Epit. in Calig.*
‡ Orders in the City. The Legions, the § Se- § *Philo, Leg. ad*
nate, *Caium.*

nate, and the People shew'd the Part they took in his Advancement, by Demonstrations of Joy so much the more sincere, as it was general. The People were glad to behold upon the Throne the Son of *Germanicus*, whose Memory was so dear to them, and whose Vertues seem'd to revive in that young Emperor, admired as the most lively Image of his Father. The Legions wish'd nothing so ardently, as to obey a Prince they knew not only to be born among them, but also to have spent his Youth in the Camps and the Armies. The Senate, which *Tiberius* had so prodigiously humbled, and into which he had frequently struck Terror, and Lamentation for the Death of its most illustrious Members, whom he sacrificed to his Cruelty and Distrust; hoping to find in *Caius* a wife, and moderate, and clement Prince, express'd their Satisfaction to see him upon the Throne, by making a Decree which confirm'd him in the Empire absolutely, and without a Colleague, contrary to the Disposition of *Tiberius's* Will, who call'd his Grand-Son to it jointly with *Caligula*. In short, as the dawning Sun of Liberty, immediately after a bloody and tyrannical Reign, is always pleasant and comfortable, every Man † expected a prosperous Turn of Fortune under *Caius's* Administration; every one now hoped to see happy Times: And thus was the Day of *Caligula's* Accession call'd the Day of *Rome's* New Birth.

† *Sueton.*
in Calig.
cap. 16.

The Truth is, this Emperor well answer'd at first the high Esteem, which his affected Moderation, and certain Outside Shews of Vertue and Equity, had made the World conceive of him. He paid most exactly the Legacies bequeathed by *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and to their Benefactions added something of his own. He publickly * burnt a Parcel of Papers that he found against some who had persecuted his Mother and Family,
to

* *Dio,*
lib. 59.

to shew that he sacrificed his Resentment not to the Welfare of the Citizens only, but even of his Enemies. He punish'd the Treachery of the Governors of Provinces, who had not been true to their Trusts; and among these was * *Pontius Pilate*, * *Luk. lii.* who had govern'd *Judaea* in the Quality of *Cæsar's* Viceroy, and being found Guilty of Extorsion and several other Crimes, was banish'd to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where he became his own Executioner, and kill'd † himself in Despair: Nor could † *Niceph. Callist.* he die by a more infamous Hand than his own, *l. i. c. 162* which with horrid Injustice had sign'd the Condemnation of Incarnate Wisdom and Innocence itself. Moreover, *Caligula* clear'd the City of all those groveling and effeminate Souls, that had serv'd *Tiberius's* monstrous Pleasures: The *Romans* of Equestrian Degree, who had been guilty of Crimes reflecting upon their Dignity, he expell'd the Order. Lastly, he set open the Prisons which were full of those Persons his Predecessor's Cruelty had committed; and beside the the Liberty he gave them all, he made considerable Presents to some.

These auspicious Beginnings of the new Reign made People forget the Horrors of the former; and a Prince who in his Youth yielded such early Fruit of solid Wisdom, seem'd to promise consummate Prudence when arrived at his full Age. To speak Truth, all *Caligula's* Actions were so many Proofs of his Good-Nature, and confirm'd the favourable Opinion People had entertain'd of their new Emperor. But this serene Weather was soon changed into dreadful Storms. As those Actions did not proceed from the natural Effect of a true Moderation, but from a subtle Device of his treacherous Heart, to deceive with greater Certainty, and to establish himself the more securely upon the Throne; no sooner was this completed, but he threw off the

K

Mask

* *Sueton.*
in *Cai.*

† *Dio,*
lib. 59.

|| *Aurel.*
Vict. Epit.
in *Calig.*

‡ *Sueton.*
in *Cai.*

Mask of Hypocrisy; his genuine Temper shew'd itself by degrees; and weary at last of using Artifice, he indulged himself in all those Passions which had been confined under a long and tedious Dissimulation. They spread with * Violence, like an impetuous Torrent, when it has broke down the Bank that stop't its Course; so that their dire Influence was felt in all Parts of the City. He † appear'd such as he was, in his natural Colours, and without a Mask; that is to say, cruel, impious, fierce, and dissolute. He made them know, || he was the Tyrant, not the Father of the Republick. In a word, he verifi'd what *Tiberius* had foretold of him; who discerning his native Temper thro' the Clouds of his Infancy, and the Veil of his Hypocrisy, said, that in *Caius* he was nursing up a ‡ Serpent for the People of *Rome*, and a *Phaeton* for the World.

Caius did not disprove this Prediction, which was but too truly accomplish'd in him. The Death of *Tiberius* broke the fatal Seal, which inclosed the depraved Inclinations of his Successor. They were equally shameful and boisterous; and thus the most inordinate Affections were observ'd to reign in the Heart of a Prince in the Flower of his Age. Not content with dishonouring his Sisters with abominable Incest, he expos'd them to the brutal Lusts of a Knot of young Fellows immersed like himself in Debauches; and afterward confined them in Islands, for repeating the very Crimes he had first drawn them into; telling them with a brutish and menacing Air, that he had Knives as well as Islands. He took home his Sister *Drusilla* from her Husband *Cassius* who had serv'd the Consulate, and to whom she had not long been marry'd, and kept her publickly as his Wife; and even affected so unnatural a Passion for her, that at her Death he committed the most scandalous and foolish Extrava-

travagances. But which is still worse, by the horriblest Brutality that ever was heard of, and the most violent Outrage that could be offer'd to Nature, he miserably * debauch'd a Daughter he had by one of his Sisters; for Incest was a Crime laid to his Charge before his Accession to the Throne. * *Entropi*
in Cai
Calig.

The infamous Flames of his Lust could not be kept within the Bounds of his own Palace: Hardly an illustrious Family in *Rome*, but receiv'd some Hurt from their Fury. He debased the Ladies of best Quality in *Rome* with his Adulteries, and † often before their Husbands Faces; † † *Sueton.*
in Cai.
c. 36.
|| *Dio,*
lib. 59. first forcing them to be Eye-Witnesses of their Infelicity, and || then barbarously making them the Subject of his Ridicule. He kept publicly in his Palace the Courtesan *Pyrallis*, than whom a more shameful Prostitute never liv'd. To conclude, after he had gratify'd his depraved Senses with all the ordinary Pleasures, he prostituted his own Person by a Brutality that would be very surprizing, were not the Height of Wick- edness to be expected from a Prince debauch'd almost from his Cradle, and one that had made his own Sisters the first Victims of his Incon- tinence.

LIVIA ORESTILLA,

CALIGULA'S First Consort.



CALIGULA's Criminal Intercourse with his Sister *Druzilla*, did so engross him, that People thought he was incapable of pursuing farther Amours; but that Prince, who by his natural Levity was given to Change, could not long keep the Current of his

Passion in one and the same Channel. *Livia Orestilla* innocently excited a new Flame in him. She derived her Descent from one of the most ancient and honourable Families in *Rome*; and *Calpurnius Piso*, to whom she was lately betroth'd, had equally consulted in that Choice, Dignity of Birth, and Splendor of Beauty. That Senator, in whom the * Lustre of ancient Nobility was heighten'd by a very great Estate, design'd to solemnize his Nuptials with a magnificent Regale. All the Persons of Distinction were invited to it; and *Piso*, to render it as pompous as possible, intreated the Emperor to honour it with his Presence. An Honour, which proved fatal to him! for it cost him no less than his Ease and his Liberty.

* *Dio,*
lib. 59.
Sueton.
in Cai.

Orestilla was young as well as beautiful, and had on all accounts a great deal of Merit. *Caligula*, exposed to *Cupid's* Darts, had the Power in his Hands, and call'd himself Master; and very often it is dangerous to have such Guests in one's House. *Piso's* Feast was extremely gay and magnificent: The Richness of his Furniture, and the Delicacy and Variety of his Entertainment, pleas'd the Eye, and gratify'd the Taste. *Orestilla*, the Ornament as well as Subject of the Assembly, appear'd in the highest Zenith of her Beauty, which she had taken care to set off with all that was rich, and brilliant, and exquisite in Garb or Dress: Illustrious Ornaments, which did not a little contribute to enforce her Charms. Whether it was contrary to *Orestilla's* Intention, we cannot say; but her Beauty struck the Emperor, and gain'd a complete Victory over his Heart. That flattering Superiority of Power, which raises us above the rest of Mankind, is an Attractive too strong for our Frailty always to resist; a Temptation, that without Miracle might make some Impression in *Orestilla's* Mind. But be that how it will, the Joy of the Day was at last

last changed into the deepest Sorrow with regard to *Piso*; which was the more piercing, as it was altogether unexpected; for he did not dream of any other Person's consummating a Marriage which he had been at all the Expence of. This happen'd notwithstanding. *Caligula* fell in Love with *Orestilla* while they sat at Table together; and being a Prince that did not care to make his Passion languish, carry'd *Piso's* Bride home with him, there marry'd her, and some time after * confirm'd his Marriage by an Edict, wherein he declared that he had marry'd in Imitation of *Romulus* and *Augustus*. But he was not so constant in that State, as the other two Princes; for he divorced *Orestilla* not long after their Nuptials. So true it is, that the fiercest Flames are soonest out; and that the Love which springs up at once, dies with the same Precipitation. But what appear'd more particularly unreasonable and unjust in *Caius's* Conduct, was, that when he divorced *Orestilla*, and would no longer keep her himself, neither † would he let her return to *Piso*; † Sueton. in Cai. but suspecting that they had some way contrived an Interview, he to prevent it, cruelly banish'd them to two several Islands.



LOLLIA PAULINA,

CALIGULA'S Second Consort.

LOLLIA PAULINA met with no better Fate, than *Orestilla*. She was Grand-Daughter to *Marcus Lollius*, whose sole Merit consisted in the || Art of dexterously concealing the most enormous Vices under the deceitful Appearance of Wisdom and Moderation. In effect, he was so perfect a Ma-

ster in the way of Dissimulation, as to impose upon the judicious *Augustus* himself, who taking his Shew of Vertue for Vertue indeed, thought he would reward it, by honouring *Lollius* with the highest and most valuable Employ: For he sent him to govern *Galatia* with the Character and Authority of (c) *Proconsul*, when that Kingdom, upon the Death of *Amyntas*, was reduced to a Province. After this, he made him Consul, conferr'd the Command of the Armies upon him in several Expeditions, wherein he did not always meet with Success; and lastly, to give him the surest Mark of his Esteem, he * entrusted him with the Person and Tutelage of his Grand-Son *Caius Caesar*, when he sent him into the East. Glorious Employ, but ingloriously executed by *Lollius*; for he gave none but † violent Counsels to that young Prince, in whose Heart he excited, by I know not what artificial Policy, and § perfidious Reports, an implacable Hatred to *Tiberius*; and prevented, || by his under-hand Practices, the Conquests he might have made; thus unworthily betraying his Trust, to gratify his insatiable Avarice; notwithstanding what a celebrated Poet says of him, who in a fawning (d) *Ode* cries

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 3.
c. 48.

† *Dio,*
lib. 59.

§ *Vell. Pat.*
terc. Hist.
lib. 2.

|| *Sueton.*
in Tib.

(c) *Augustus* made a Partition of the Tributary Provinces of the Empire; reserving the best Part to himself, and leaving the rest to the Senate and Republick. These Provinces were govern'd by Senators who had been Consuls or Prators, and bore the Title of *Proconsuls*. They were sent thither in the Name of the Senate; and had *Lictors* and other Tokens of Authority.

They had Power of Life and Death in the Provinces they govern'd; and were allow'd to raise Taxes in such a Proportion, settled by the Senate. Appeals from the *Proconsuls* Sentences were heard by the Consuls, and determin'd by the Senate. The Provinces into which *Proconsuls* were sent as Governors, were call'd *Proconsular Provinces*.

(d) ——— *Est animus tibi*
Rerumque prudens, & secundis
Temporibus, dubiisque reclus;
Vindex avarae fraudis, & abstinens
* *Ducentis ad se cuncta pecunia.*

Hor. Od. ix. lib. 4.

him

him up for a Publick-Spirited Gentleman. For *Phraates*, King of the *Parthians*, in an Interview he had with Prince *Caius Caesar* in an Island of the *Euphrates*, acquainted him with the Treachery of *Lollius*, his Governor; whose Eyes being dazzled with the Lustre of the Oriental Kings Gold, he had not the Power to resist their Presents, but sold them the Secret of the Designs with which he was entrusted, and gave them Notice of all that pass'd in the Councils of the *Romans*. Base and perfidious Man! thus to oblige Prince *Caius* to deprive his covetous and traiterous Governor not only of his Confidence, but also of his Friendship. Upon which, seeing his Reputation lost, and that it was not possible for him to recover it by clearing himself, he took a Dose of Poison, and put an End to a Life loaded with Dishonour and Inquietude. This is very often the Fate of Traitors; who meet with the Punishment due to their Perfidiousness, either in a voluntary Death, or else in the irksome Remains of a Life fill'd with Confusion and Reproach; hated by the Persons they betray'd, despised by those to whom they sold their Honour and their Duty, and carrying, where-ever they go, the Shame of their false and traiterous Actions.

Lollia had all the Advantages that could be desired. She was of a noble and honourable Family; and tho' very beautiful, had nevertheless preserv'd her Reputation. Moreover, these valuable Presents of Nature and Fortune were seconded by a * prodigious Estate, which enabled * *Plinius*, her to distinguish herself in *Rome*, and to appear ^{l. 9. c. 35.} there to Advantage, by the good Use she made of it, tho' it was the shameful Fruit of her Grand-Father's vile Extorsion, and the unmerited Reward of his Perfidy.

She brought them all in Dowry to *Memmius Regulus*, Governor of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, and

a Personage honour'd with the Consulate. This Roman was so sensible of *Lollia's* Merit, that he thought it an Honour to marry her; soon after which he carry'd her along with him to his Government: But their bad Fortune, or rather * *Caligula's* Incontinence, soon recall'd them to Rome. That Prince hearing one day, that *Lollia's* Grand-Mother was a very celebrated Beauty, † nothing would serve him but he must see the Grand-Daughter of a Lady so much talk'd of for her Charms. It was not long before he satisfy'd his Curiosity in that respect. *Memmius*, who had then the Command of the Army, was order'd to repair to the Court, and bring his Wife *Lollia Paulina* with him; where as soon as she appear'd, *Caius* foolishly fell in Love with her; and, giving at once a Loose to his Passion, he not only resolv'd that *Memmius* should resign her to him, but even obliged him to pass for her Father, and to give her to him in that Quality. After which, he marry'd her publickly and in the Forms, much as *Augustus* had espoused *Livia*.

Lollia, who on this Change of Fortune was possess'd of every thing her Vanity could wish or desire, shew'd no great Concern, we may suppose: But her Pleasure was as short-lived, as the Emperor's Passion; for *Caligula*, equally apt to fall in Love, and to alter the Subject of it, grew weary of this Match, as he had of the former; and *Lollia*, with all the Splendor of Beauty and Dress, could not fix the Heart of that fickle and volatile Prince. § He divorced her without giving any Reason, and sent her away coldly, forbidding her the Company of all Men whatsoever.

Paulina, who from her former State had been rais'd at once to the Supreme Dignity, now saw herself

* Sueton.
in Cai.

† Dio,
lib. 58.

§ Ibid.
Sueton.
in Cai.

herself reduced to her primitive Condition, and experienced by her Fall how difficult it is to stop the Wheel of Fortune, how imprudent to put any Confidence in her. Nevertheless, she bore up under this woful Disgrace with a great deal of Firmness and Resolution, comforting herself with the Thoughts of her immense Riches, and assisting at all the Diversions, where she took a particular care to do nothing that could wound her Reputation. But beside the Lustre of her * Beauty, she honour'd these Assemblies with the magnificent Glittering of the Pearls, Rubies, and Diamond, with which she was in a manner cover'd: Glorious Ornaments, for which she was not beholden to *Caius's* Liberality, but to the Family of *Lollius*, whose Inheritance was the Spoils of the Provinces where he had exercised his Rapine.

* *Plinius*,
lib. 9. c. 35.

She liv'd in this Middle way during the rest of *Caligula's* Reign, and the beginning of *Claudius's*: But when *Messalina* died, *Lollia Paulina*, to whom the Sweetness of Sovereignty had proved an irresistible Bait, suffer'd her Heart to be carry'd away with the Conceit of remounting the Throne, from which thro' the Inconstancy of *Caius's* Temper she had fallen. She might indeed have promis'd herself this great Favour at Fortune's Hands, had she been the only Person that put in her Claim; but the Throne is too attractive a Seat, not to raise a Competition in the Aspirers to it. † All the principal Ladies in *Rome* display'd their Charms, as well as *Paulina*, to captivate the Emperor *Claudius*: But Two above the rest challenged *Lollia's* Merit, and disputed *Cesar's* Heart with her. *Ælia Petina* and *Agrippina* were the Names of those dangerous Rivals. These three Ladies supported their Pretensions with their Vertues, took care that none of them should

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.
cap. 1.

want

want Blazoning, and try'd all their engaging Arts. Their Favour was pretty much upon the Level, each of them having in her Interest one of the Three Free-Men who govern'd the Emperor. Thus *Claudius*, a stupid and irresolute Prince, was a long time in determining his Choice, and would not fix till he knew the Sentiments of *Pallas*, *Callistus*, and *Narcissus*, who were in effect his three Masters: For the Supreme Authority was lodg'd in the Hands of those unworthy Free-Men, upon whom *Claudius* entirely rely'd, and was immovable in the Article of his Confidence.

Narcissus propos'd *Ælia Petina*, who had formerly been that Prince's Wife, and was repudiated upon very slender Motives. *Callistus*, who was *Lollia's* Friend, represented to the Emperor, That admitting *Petina* was divorced without Cause, yet it would be dangerous for him to expose himself and his Children to her Resentment upon that score, which she would assuredly carry the higher, in proportion as she thought her Divorce to be unjust, and would consequently behave so much the more outrageously to him: That to marry there, would be to fix a merciless Step-Mother upon Prince *Britannicus* and the Princess *Octavia*, who far from shewing Friendship, would not be commonly Civil to them, and would be ten times more proud and haughty and imperious upon her second Marriage: That nothing of all this could be fear'd from *Lollia*, celebrated for an illustrious Descent, for a Beauty with which very few could compare, and a Reputation which always stuck by her, and was Proof against the Attacks of the most inveterate Calumny. He added, that the particular Interest of Prince *Britannicus* and the Princess *Octavia* would be best consulted in a Marriage with *Lollia*, because never having had any Children, she would be a Mother to *Messalina's*; and
that

that her Affection for them would be the more sincere, in regard she would have no Occasion to divide or remove it.

Pallas, to recommend *Agrippina*, in whose Interest he was criminally engaged, founded forth the Grandeur of her Family, and the Nobleness of her Extraction, which, as well as the Emperor's, derived itself from the *Claudians*. He described her Beauty in the finest Colours, not forgetting to flourish upon her Vertues; and *Agrippina* had the Cunning to back these Arguments by some Method so very engaging, tho' perhaps not altogether so innocent, that *Claudius's* shallow Judgment determin'd him for this Lady, who in a very short time made him sorely smart for it.

This Choice confounded all *Paulina's* Expectations. She now saw all her Pretensions foreclosed, and the Projects of her Ambition vanish'd into Smoak. But neither was this the Whole of her Misery: For *Agrippina's* Jealousy and Revenge made many fatal Additions to it. * This Empress, who had dreaded the Competition of her Rivals, conceiv'd an implacable Hatred against them, and resolv'd to chastise their Rashness in pretending to a Match with *Claudius*, which she look'd upon as an Invasion of her Right. 'Tis true, she suffer'd her Resentment to sleep for a while; but as soon as she had secured her Fortune, she fell to work, and shew'd the Force of her Anger.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.
cap. 22.

Lollia was the unhappy Object of its first and hottest Fury; because her Beauty had render'd her the most formidable Enemy. *Agrippina* was too politick to stigmatize the Infancy of her Grandeur and Authority with Acts of Cruelty; and could not therefore put *Lollia* to Death without some Pretence. On the other hand, it was difficult to find a tolerable one; that Lady's Conduct

duct having been so regular, as to give no Handle for her Enemies to take hold of: But the Empress, not being long able to deny her Jealously the Victim it craved, stirr'd up an Informer against *Lollia*, who accused her to *Claudius* of the Crime of Superstition.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.
cap. 22.

To put the graver Countenance upon this Process, it was supported by a thousand Circumstances, stamp'd with the Coin of Falshood. * She was charged with giving Credit to the Predictions of the *Chaldeans*; with having dared sacrilegiously to dive into the dark Abyss of Futurity, to know the Fate of the Emperor's Marriage; and even with consulting the Oracles of the Gods, to satisfy her petulant Curiosity in that respect. All these were enormous Crimes; but they were all forged; and *Lollia* would easily have laid open the Imposture, which was back'd by no Proof, had she been indulg'd the Liberty of answering for herself: But Care was taken not to do her that Justice, because it would have put the Authors of such abominable Calumny to their Trumps; and the Innocence of the Party Accused could not have been clear'd up, without exposing the Malice of the Accuser.

Lollia was no sooner impeach'd, but *Claudius* went and gave the Senate an Account of it. He introduced his Discourse, by speaking very advantageously of that Lady; illustrating her Nobility, and the Honour it was to have the Sister of *Lucius Volusius* to her Mother, and *Cotta Messalinus* for her Great Uncle. He extoll'd her Marriage with *Memmius*, upon whom they had conferr'd the highest Dignities; but artfully pass'd over that she had contracted with *Caligula* in Silence, because he knew that Match would reproach him with the little Respect shewn to the Wife of an Emperor, who ought to have been treated after another Manner than the Wives of Men of an inferior

inferior Degree. In fine, after having tired the Patience of the Senators with his long Speech, he told them, *Lollia* was guilty of under-hand Practices to disturb the State; and that to put it out of her Power to execute her Design, he sacrificed her to the Good of the Republick. Whereupon, he immediately banish'd her from all *Italy*; confiscating her Estate, and leaving her very little out of the immense Riches she was possess'd of.

This unjust Banishment, too severe for an imaginary Crime, ought certainly to have satisfy'd the cruel *Agrippina*: But when once Revenge is left to the Discretion of the Persons who think themselves injured, we very rarely find they can set any Bounds to it. *Agrippina* mortally hated *Lollia*; and the Fire of her Wrath could not be extinguish'd without the Blood of her Enemy.

(e) A Tribune was sent to the Place of her Exile, with private Orders to dispatch her; and it is probable, the Empress pitch'd upon a Man of Character for acquitting himself well of such an execrable Commission. If so, she was not deceiv'd in her Choice. That cruel Order was executed with the same Barbarity it was given; and *Lollia's* Death expiated the Crime of her having pretended to a Marriage with *Claudius*. But neither yet was *Agrippina's* Revenge fully satiated: She pursued it beyond the Death of her Rival; and sent for *Lollia's* Head, to feast her Eyes with that most dismal Spectacle. Barbarous Satisfaction! But *Agrippina* could not be easy till she had it. * *Paulina's* Head was brought to *Rome*; the Empress saw it, and examin'd it; and, to be sure

* Div.
lib. 60.

(e) The Romans gave the Name of <i>Tribunes</i> to the Captains who commanded the <i>Cohorts</i> . A Cohort consisted of 500 Men; and ten Cohorts	made a Legion. In each Cohort were five Centuries, or Hundreds: In each Century, ten Maniples, or Handfuls: And in each Manipule, ten Men.
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they

they did not impose upon her, by laying before her the Head of somebody else, she had the savage *Curiosity to seek, amidst the Horrors of Death, for a Proof to convince her it was her Enemy's. In short, she was so hard-hearted, as to force open the Mouth herself, and view *Paulina's* Teeth, which they say were somewhat particular.



CÆSONIA,

CALIGULA'S Last Consort.



† *Sueton.*
in Cai.

‡ *Plinius,*
lib. 9. c. 7.

|| *Dio,*
lib. 59.
Sueton.
in Cai.
cap. 25.

§ *Josepb.*
Antiq.
Judai.
lib. 20.

CALIGULA having, as we have observ'd, repudiated *Lollia*, *Cæsonia* began to appear upon the Stage. † She was Daughter to *Orphitus*, and to *Vestilia*, who lay in of her at the End of eight Months, as she had before been deliver'd of two Children at seven Months, and one at eleven. ‡ *Cæsonia* was actually another Man's Wife, and had three Daughters by him, when *Caius* marry'd her. || She had neither the Beauty, nor the Wisdom of his former Wives, and yet it was *Cæsonia* that fix'd the Emperor's Heart, so as it never after went astray. He could not, indeed, have made a fitter Choice for himself, nor associated in his Crimes a Person more like him for Temper. She was impudent, insolent, and haughty to the last Degree. § Her Lasciviousness also, and Cruelty went hand in hand with his; for she did not a little contribute to those frequent Executions, which fill'd *Rome* with Blood and Tears during *Caligula's* Reign.

Caius

Caius lov'd *Casonia* long before he marry'd her; and it is reported, that she made use of other Charms beside those of Beauty, to captivate his Heart. She gave him a Drink, it seems, whereof * *Juvenal* mentions the Composition, * *Sat. 6.* which working more than she design'd, affected *Caligula's* Head, and (f) in some measure caus'd that Madness, wherein he committed so many Extravagances and Acts of Cruelty. Frantick with the Love of *Casonia*, he would sometimes make her dress in Soldier's Habit, shew her in that Garb to the Troops, and see her march between the Lines on Horseback: At other times, she must appear stark-naked before some Friends of his in private, where kissing her in their Sight, he would often tell them he could at a Word's speaking strike off that pretty Head; with which tender Compliment he generally concluded his brutal Caresses; sufficient Evidence of the Corruption of his Mind. But his Passion was still greater and more extravagant, upon the Birth of a Daughter by his Wife *Casonia*. *Caius* was so rejoiced to see himself a Father, that he could not help shewing it by the most ridiculous Whimfies. Among the rest, he made a solemn Declaration, that he was Husband to *Casonia*, and Father to the young Princess. She was named *Junia Drusilla*, and her Mother was honour'd with the Title of *Augusta*. † He exacted New-Years Gifts from the People upon this Occasion, and sordidly receiv'd the Money brought in from all Quarters toward the Maintenance of this Princess. He caus'd her to be carry'd to the Temple of all the Goddesses; where being laid in *Minerva's* Arms, he recommended to her the Education of his Daughter, protesting aloud that *Jupiter* and him-

† *Joseph. Sueton. Dio.*

(f) *Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis, Cui totam tremuli frontem Casonia pulli Infudit. ————— Juvenal. Sat. 6.*

self

self were *Drusilla's* Fathers, and that he left it to impartial Judges to decide, from which of the Two she derived the noblest Origine. No body doubted at the same time, but *Caligula* was the natural Author of her Being. The Instinct of Cruelty, which immediately shew'd itself in that Child, was a sufficient Proof of it, and well justify'd the Truth of what the Emperor had declared as to his being her Father. Never was a less promising Infancy known. She was observ'd to have a prodigious deal of Malice; and her Nature seem'd so prone to Cruelty, that it was dangerous to leave young Children in her Company, because she delighted in scratching them, or thrusting her Fingers into their Eyes, or doing them some other Mischief.

As *Caligula* was known to be capricious in his Love, which generally went off as easily as it came on; every one expected, that his Affection for *Cæsonia* would soon give place to some other Passion, and that he would turn her away, as he had his former Wives: But he constantly adhered to her; insomuch that this fix'd Love made People imagine she gave him some Philter. Be that as it will, *Caius* was always so fond of her, that he could not live, if she was not with him.

* *Persius*,
Sat. 6.

* He even gave her Liberty to dispose of the Spoils which *Galba* had taken from the *Germans* in the *Gauls*, as she pleas'd. He would often talk of the Violence of his Passion, by way of admiring it was so great; and sometimes in his Transports would protest, he could find in his heart to put *Cæsonia* to the Rack, to know the Reason of his unaccountable Fondness of her.

If this furious Passion of *Caius* for *Cæsonia* made Men suspect all was not right with him, they thought he had quite bid Adieu to his Senses, when he afterward committed the most extravagant Follies, and such as could hardly be believ'd

upon

upon the Credit of the Historians who relate them, were it not certain that Man is capable of any thing of this sort, when God abandons him, and leaves him to himself. For, not content with being above the rest of Mankind, he could not bear that any thing should be above him; and insolently set himself up for a God, at the same time that he was guilty of Actions which favour'd more of the Beast than the Man. This Extravagance surpass'd all the rest, and put him beside himself in good earnest. He would be rank'd among the Deities; and the *Romans* were required to prostrate themselves before him, and to worship him with Divine Honours. Nor did he meet with much Difficulty in gaining his Point from a People grown prodigal of such Homage, and full as much addicted to Flattery, as the Emperor was to Vanity. He would often place himself in the Temples, between the Statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and there receive the Adoration of the Multitude, who crowded to pay it to him, with as much Eagerness as to the Images of the Gods: Rank Impiety! that reflected no less Dishonour upon the infamous Courtiers who did it, than upon the Prince who exacted it from them. Sometimes he would appear with the Ornaments attributed to the Gods in Fable; as, for Instance, with Wings at his Heels, and the *Caduceus* in his Hand, like *Mercury*: At other times, he would wear a Crown of Rays upon his Head, in Imitation of *Apollo*; and again you should see him stalking with his Sword and Buckler, to mimic the God *Mars*. He very often affected to talk to the Statue of *Jupiter*; after which he would turn his Ear and listen to it, to persuade those about him, that that God convers'd with him, and consequently that the Gods themselves acknowledged him to be one of them.

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His senseless Pride created in him a violent Inclination to have his Statue placed in the Temple of *Jerusalem*; fancying the same would very much contribute to his Deification: And as he knew that the *Jews* did not admitt Images into their Temples, he first try'd the Utmost of his Artifice, and afterward exerted the Force of his Authority; both to no purpose. He constantly met with a Resistance from the *Jews*, which their Zeal for Religion render'd obstinate; and thus they could never be brought to consent to an Innovation so monstrous, and so opposite to their Law. This Disappointment did not however lessen the Imagination of his pretended Divinity: Still persisting in that Height of Folly, he call'd *Jupiter* his Brother, invited the Moon at her Full to come and lie with him, and would fain have persuaded People she was his Wife. He would sometimes be threatening *Jupiter*, and say to him, *Kill me, or I kill thee*. In a word, looking upon himself entirely as a God, he caus'd a Temple to be erected to him, wherein the choicest Birds were offer'd him in Sacrifice. Priests were instituted on purpose for this Service; and among them *Cæsonia* was consecrated a Priestess. Nay, he would augment the Number himself, and, out of one of the merry'st Conceits in Nature, order'd his Favourite Horse *Incitatus* to be consecrated a Priest: Fit Pontiff for such a Deity! But this was not the only Honour he did him: He gave him many a formal Invitation to Supper, and treated him with Barley gilt with Gold. He furnish'd him a House in the richest manner, and appointed a Number of Servants to wait upon him, that he might give the Guests sent by the Emperor to banquet with him, a magnificent Reception; and, to the end that his * *Incitatus* might pass thro' all the Degrees of Honour, he design'd to

* *Sueton.*
in *Cæs.*

to make him a Consul; degrading by that Contempt the most sublime Dignity of the Empire!

He carry'd his Cruelty those barbarous and excessive Lengths, that *Tiberius*, compared with him, might pass for a mild and clement Prince. After he had put *Macro* and his Wife *Ennia* to Death, who had been of so great Service in procuring him the Empire, he sacrificed to his blood-thirsty Spirit *Silanus*, whose Daughter he had marry'd in *Tiberius's* Reign; and had the unparalleled Inhumanity to be his Father-in-Law's Executioner. He made Fathers attend the Tortures of their Children, and would not so much as allow them to shut their Eyes against so piercing and dolorous a Sight; as much as to say, he would make Nature herself tremble: And one of these miserable Parents, whom he required to assist at his Son's Execution, begging to be excused upon the Account of an Indisposition, he had the Cruelty to send him a Litter.

The Majesty of Kings was but a poor Safeguard against *Caligula's* merciless Fury: *Ptolemy*, Son of King (g) *Juba*, who was Cousin-German to *Caius's* Father *Germanicus*, to the Colour of his Purple added that of his Blood, which this Emperor spilt, by a Murder as cruel as it was unjust: And *Mithridates*, King of *Armenia*, was accounted very happy, that *Caligula* had the Moderation only to send him into Banishment. All his Exiles saw an End of their Pain in that of their Lives; for *Caius* having ask'd one of those he recall'd in the beginning of his Reign, how he employ'd himself in his Exile, and the other imprudently answering him, that he constantly made it his Petition to the Gods, that he might be so happy, as to see an End of *Tiberius's* Reign, and *Caligula*.

(g) *Juba*, by *Augustus's* Order, marry'd *Cleopatra*, Daughter to *Mark Anthony*; by whom he had this *Ptolemy*, put to Death by the Emperor *Caligula*.

gula advanced to the Throne; he brutishly conceiv'd a Notion, that the Persons he had banish'd, undoubtedly put up the same Petition, and wish'd his Death; and upon this extravagant Notion, he caus'd them all to be massacred. The Philosopher *Canis*, for daring to speak with Freedom to the Emperor, was order'd to prepare himself for Death: *Caligula*, who never retracted such Orders, deliver'd this himself; and the Centurion, who went to take him and lead him to Execution, found him playing at Tables with a Tranquillity of Mind becoming his Profession, and such as would merit the highest Encomium, had it a better Cause for its Object.

Were I to undertake the Enumeration of all his Cruelties, I should never have done: They fill'd every Corner of the City with Murders; which, tho' they were monstrous in their Kind, infinite in their Number, and perpetual in their Duration, could not yet appease his brutal Rage; but he would often say, he wish'd the *Roman* People had but one Head; meaning, no doubt, that he would give himself the savage Pleasure of cutting it off at a Blow. Neither will I mention his shameful Obscenity, and his detestable Lewdness, which it were a Shame to read. Less could not however be expected from a Prince who brought such a fatal Inclination to Vice into the World with him, and carry'd to the Throne a Youth fully'd with ten thousand Debauches. Suffice it to remark, that a Government so hateful, and exercised with so much Insolence, gave Occasion to some Malecontents to caball; who in the end resolv'd to exterminate that Monster, forsaken of the Gods to whom he had impiously made himself equal, and detested of Men whom he used like a Tyrant. Several Conspiracies were form'd against him, which being either too forward, or ill digested, were discover'd, and cost the Authors
their

their Lives: But *Cassius Chæca* and *Cornelius Sabinus* carry'd theirs on with so much Secrecy and Address, that *Caligula* receiv'd from their Hands the Punishment due to his Folly, his Inhumanity, and his Libertinism.

The News of his Assassination met with a general Joy at *Rome*. Their only Fear was, it should not prove true. To know the Certainty of it, *Lupus* the Centurion hasten'd to the Palace, where he found *Cæsonia* and her Daughter *Dru-silla* mourning over the Emperor's Corpse. *Cæsonia* mixt her Tears with Plenty of Sighs, and greatly bewail'd the Fate of her Husband, who would not (she complain'd) be ruled by her, or take her Advice.

People's Sentiments differ'd however, concerning this Empress's Complaint. * Some believ'd * *Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. 19.* she had advis'd the Emperor to shed no more of the Citizens Blood, but to shew himself more human for the future, and let a peaceful and gentle Reign succeed his Cruelties irrecoverably past. Others on the contrary fancy'd, † that † *Sueton. in Calig.* she had warn'd *Caligula* of the Design against his Life; and that there was no way left to secure himself, but by being before-hand with the Conspirators. Be that as it will, § *Lupus* no sooner § *Dio, lib. 59.* appear'd, than *Cæsonia*, all drown'd in Tears, conjured him to draw near and assist her in paying the last Duties to her Lord's mangled Body, which Humanity call'd for. But the Empress soon understood, that *Lupus* was come upon a quite different Errand. Immediately altering her Tone therefore, and assuming the boldest and most resolute Countenance, she undauntedly met her Fate, and begg'd the Centurion to be expeditious in depriving her of a Life that was already grown a Burden to her. *Lupus*, who doubtless went for that very purpose, did not

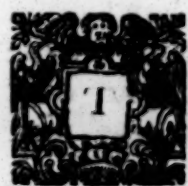
make her languish, but dispatch'd her with his
Sword; and then taking the young Princess, he
dash'd her Brains against the Wall, with a Bar-
barity suitable to his Name.



V A L E -



VALERIA MESSALINA,
CONSORT
TO
CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.



HERE are Vices, as well as Virtues, which one would think Hereditary in Families. The bad Examples of Parents have sometimes a sort of Contagion, which communicates itself to their Children; according to what was rightly said by a Lady whose Works are admired for their Wit, "That when the Mother is a Coquet, the Daughters rarely make good Nuns." *Valeria Messalina* is an unhappy Instance of the Truth of this Maxim. Sprung from a Mother void of Discretion, she took after her, as we say, and even went beyond her in the Feats of Lewdness. Her Life was one continu'd Series of Vice; and she wanton'd in the most crying and shameful Enormities. Her Prostitutions were the most scandalous, her Passions the most unruly, and her Crimes the most publick and detestable. With her the most brutal Pleasures had always the strongest Attractives; with her the most shocking Immodesty had irre-

sistible Charms. Vertue was the only Object she view'd with Horrour and Affright; and her Reputation made the least Part of her Solitude. Unmindful of her Birth, her Dignity, the Modesty natural to her Sex, and the Fidelity she ow'd to her Husband and her Emperor; she gave a Loose to her Passions, without so much as the Check of Regard to Decency, without Dread of the miserable Fate of those Wretches whose Examples she follow'd, and without Fear of the Lashes of Peoples Tongues, or of *Claudius's* Anger. Never surely were such Madnes and Folly equal'd.

She was Daughter to *Valerius Messala Barbatus*, and to *Lepida*, who was accused of Magick and Incontinence, and particularly of an incestuous Commerce with her Brother *Domitius Ænobarbus*. From this impure Fountain flow'd that yet impurer Stream. She was marry'd to her Cousin *Claudius*, after he had already had four Wives: *Æmilia Lepida*, whom he divorced without ever cohabiting with her; *Livia Medullina*, who died the very day appointed for their Nuptials; *Plantina*, by whom he had a Son *Drusus*, who a day or two after he had sign'd Marriage-Articles with *Sejanus's* Daughter, accidentally strangled himself by catching in his Mouth a Pear he had tofs'd up, which fell so far down his Throat, that it could not be got up again; and a Daughter named *Claudia*, whom he order'd to be laid quite naked at her Mother's Door, suspecting (and 'tis fear'd, upon good ground) that she was not his Child; for which Reason he divorced *Plantina*, and marry'd *Ælia Petina* by whom he had *Antonia*; and afterward repudiated her also, to marry his Cousin-German *Messalina*, who had abundance less Discretion than any of the former. He was but a Private Person when he marry'd this Lady, by whom he had a Daughter *Octavia*, afterward
Nero's

Nero's Wife, and a Son named *Britannicus*, who was born twenty Days after his Father came to the Throne.

Messalina was framed by Nature with such a violent Inclination to Gallantry, that it was impossible for her to contain herself within the Lawful Bounds of Matrimony, too narrow for a Heart scorch'd with a thousand Flames. She had Beauty and Interest enough to attract Admirers, and too little Vertue to let them long suffer; and thus we shall see with what a Series of Crimes her History is blacken'd. For, Incontinence was not her only Failing: She was Cruel without Mercy, and Covetous without Measure. So that her Advancement was equally fatal to Persons who were chaste or rich. The Depavation of her Heart, or rather the Corruption of her Nature, incited her Lust; while the Love of Money and of large Possessions set her Cruelty to work against the unhappy Owners of them: And thus were Lewdness and Avarice the two grand Poles, upon which the Sphere of all *Messalina's* Thoughts and Actions turn'd. Unhappy Fate! for an Empire to be govern'd by a Woman who consults nothing but her Passions, the Violence whereof meeting with no Opposition, spreads itself indifferently upon all such, as her Caprice puts her upon tormenting, and seizes the first Object that presents itself, to furnish Matter for her Crimes. For this Empress had not carry'd either her Lust or her Cruelty to those shameful Excesses, had she met with Resistance in the beginning, sufficient to check her Progress: But Impunity for old Crimes engaged her in the Commission of new. So true it is, that nothing is too hard for Triumphant Vice to enterprize.

Claudius, to whom a tumultuous Crowd of Soldiers abruptly gave the Empire, at the very
Time

Time when, frightened out of his Senses at the Sight of that confused Multitude, he thought they came to take away his Life, was a stupid and injudicious Prince, too short-sighted to see thro' his Wife's Conduct, and too timorous to punish the Crimes she committed. Being careless and indolent, he entirely abandon'd himself to the Pleasures of the (a) Table and Play, and never regarded his Domestick Affairs, nor those of the Empire, which were too great a Burden for him to bear, and were therefore thrown upon his Freemen; selfish and artful Courtiers, who govern'd him as they pleas'd; and having not so much their Master's Glory, as their own Interest in View, made him do just what they would have him; so that we may assert with Truth, that *Claudius* was less their Sovereign than their Slave.

(a) The Pleasures of the Table were the Emperor *Claudius*'s chief Delight. He made sumptuous Entertainments almost every day, to which he invited abundance of Company. There were frequently no less than 600 Persons dining with him. 'Tis reported, that *Titus Vinus*, who was of a *Prætorian* Family, being one day invited by the Emperor to Dinner, took Occasion to steal a Gold Cup from the Buffer. *Claudius* hearing of it, resolv'd to punish *Vinus* for his Temerity; and for that purpose invited him to Dinner again the next day, with the same Company he had the day before; and gave Orders that *Vinus* should be serv'd in nothing but Earthen Ware. This ignominious Distinction was observ'd by all the Company, who were inform'd of *Vinus*'s Theft. They set up a great Laugh; and all their Eyes were fixt upon that Villain, who was more mortify'd by this Proceeding, than if he had been to undergo a Corporal Punishment. It was said of this *Vinus*, that he plunder'd the Provinces with the Power of a Tyrant, and the Indifference of a Foreigner. *Suetonius* says, *Claudius* took such Delight in sitting a long while at Table, that to prevent any of the Company's being incommoded by the Constraint which the Emperor's Presence must necessarily lay upon them, he had resolv'd to publish a Proclamation allowing People to fart at Table: For he was told, that a certain Gentleman, whom he had one day kept a long while at Dinner, was very much disorder'd, by penning up the Wind which he durst not let fly in his Majesty's Presence.

This

This stupid Indolence of the Emperor we are treating of, was the principal Cause of all *Messalina's* Disorders. Hence all those hateful Prostitutions and savage Cruelties, which made the Rich and the Vertuous tremble. At first she kept Measures for a while, indulging herself only in the Commission of small Crimes, and that in Secret and with Caution: But meeting with no Opposition to her inordinate Desires, and perceiving that she might boldly proceed to do what she would, she at once bid Adieu to Shame and Constraint, abandon'd herself without Reserve to the Gratification of her Senses, and by degrees contracted a Familiarity with Sin; and this fatal Habit fortifying her Mind against all those Reasons that should reclaim her to her Duty, she committed the vilest Disorders, and carry'd them to that Excess, that the very * Historians who mention them, agree that Posterity would hardly believe them.

* Tacit.
Annal II.
Sueton.
in Claud.
cap. 29.

She commenced her Tyranny by the Murder of the Princess *Julia*, Daughter to *Germanicus*, and Wife of *Marcus Vinicius*. This Lady † had been banish'd to the Island of *Pontia*, together with her Sister *Agrippina*, by Order of their Brother *Caligula*, who first deprived them of their Honour, and afterward of their Liberty. Their Uncle *Claudius*, pitying their Misfortune, recall'd them from their Exile, and restored them to their Estates, and to all the Splendor of their former Station. These illustrious Exiles appear'd at Court, and held the Rank due to their Birth, which they graced with their Beauty and their Merit. The Emperor had a particular Kindness for *Julia*; he took Pleasure in being alone with her; and it was observ'd, that they frequently had long Conversations together. *Messalina* took this Complaisance to proceed from her Husband's real Affection, and was in a terrible Fright about it.

† Sueton.
in Calig.

§ Dio,
lib. 60.

it. § *Claudius* was weak, and apt to change his Mind: *Julia* was handsome, and perhaps ambitious withall; and she had Charms enow to tempt that Prince to marry her. This was what *Messalina* dreaded, who consequently look'd upon *Julia* as her Rival.

* Sueton.
in Claud.

But there was another Reason yet, why the Empress did not like her. Sprung from the Blood of the *Cæsar's*, *Julia* * brought into the World with her a noble Spirit, which could never stoop to those mean and unworthy Compliances the Empress expected from her, nor pay her that cringing Respect and those fawning Devoirs, which were the ordinary Steps to her Favour, but were to that Princess a Policy too vile and nauseous. These were her real Crimes. Others were indeed laid to her Charge; but it was impossible to prove them; tho' *Julia* was again sent into Exile for them, where soon after her Life was made a Sacrifice to *Messalina's* Jealousy.

† Tacit.
Annal. 12.

Seneca had some Share in her Disgrace. † He was accused of not having always comported himself like a grave Philosopher in *Julia's* Company; and hereupon he was banish'd by *Claudius* to the Island of (b) *Corfica*. || *Seneca*, as much a

|| Senec.
Lud. in
Claud.

(b) *Claudius* made Choice of *Corfica* for the Place of *Seneca's* Exile, to incommode him as much as possible; that Island lying waste, almost unpeopled, and difficult of Access; and the whole Country consisting of nothing hardly beside Mountains and Precipices. *Strabo* says, the Inhabitants of *Corfica* were in his Time brutish, knavish, thievish and insolent: And they seem still to retain their ancient Barbarity. They gave a remarkable Instance of it in the horrid Attempt they made upon

Monsieur de Crequi, the French Ambassador at Rome in 1662. For some Foreigners who were not of that Lord's Family, having quarrel'd with some *Corfican* Soldiers in the Pope's Service, who were as Bailiffs Followers to the *Shirri*, or Sergeants at Rome; and one of that Island being wounded in the Scuffle; those of his Nation assembled, and being conducted by their Officers to the Ambassador's Palace, they invested it, and fired their Pieces at his Men, at his Lady's Coach, and even at the Person of the

Stoick

Stoick as he was, could not help the Weight of his Shame and Exile from sinking to the very Bottom of his Soul. It produced in him a Sovereign Ulcer, which empty'd itself afterward in the keenest Satyr and bitterest Invective against that Emperor, when Death had put it out of his Power to do him any farther Prejudice. *Agrip-pina* also had very like to have shared her Sister's Fate. *Messalina* consider'd her Beauty and Merit in such a Light, that she determin'd within herself to extinguish both with her Blood. But the Death of *Drusus's* Daughter seeming of greater Importance, she turn'd the Face of her Tyranny that way. * This Princess's Name was *Julia* too, and she was likewise *Claudius's* Niece; but she had the Misfortune not to please *Messalina*; and that was a Crime worthy of Death. It was this *Julia*, who had contracted such an intimate Friendship with *Pomponia Gracina*, Wife to *Plautius*, that when the latter saw how cruelly the other was treated, she conceived a Grief which lasted her Life-time. She spent forty long Years in Weeping and Sorrow, indulging her Melancholy in Solitude, and banishing all Pleasures and Diversions, were they never so innocent. *Pomponia* was a Lady of admirable Merit: Her Conduct was always so regular, that a † Church-Annalist con-

* *Sueton.*
in *Claud.*
Dio, l. 60.
Tacit.
Annal. 13.

† *Byron.*
Annal.
Ner. 3.

Ambassador himself, near whom they kill'd a Page, and wounded a Footman: An Insult for which the King soon receiv'd ample Satisfaction. For beside that in pursuance of the Treaty of *Pisa*, occasion'd by this Difference, Cardinal *Chigi* was sent to *France* with the Character of Legate, to declare the Pope's Concern at what had happen'd, Cardinal *Imperiali* was obliged to go and excuse the Matter to the King, his Holiness order'd all his Ministers to pay due Respect to his Majesty's Ambassador; and the Islanders of *Corfica* were declared incapable of serving in the Ecclesiastical State. Moreover a Pyramid was erected in one of the Squares at *Rome*, with an Inscription, containing the Substance of the Decree against the *Corficans*; as a Monument of their Savage Nature, and a Warning against future Insult upon any of the King's Ministers.

jectures

jectures she must have embraced the Christian Religion, which the Apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* had already preach'd at *Rome*. In short, *Pomponia* was charged with adhering to *strange Superstitions*; and this was the very Term they gave to the Religion of the Christians. As her Belief concern'd her Husband more than any body else, she was referr'd to *Plautius* to be examin'd. All their Relations met; and *Plautius* cited his Wife before this Domestick Tribunal. The Tryal was managed according to the ancient Laws; and *Pomponia* having justify'd herself to *Plautius's* Satisfaction, was declared Innocent.

Messalina having cured her Jealousy by the Deaths of those who had excited it, now thought of nothing but gratifying her lascivious Inclinations. She made those who had Vertue enough to withstand her vile Solicitations, experience the Fierceness of her Cruelty; it was a Crime of State not to committ one with her; and Death was the Price of their Resistance. *Appius Silanus* stood forward in the List of these Sufferers; his Vertue having cost him his Life. *Claudius* had obliged him to marry his Mother-in-Law *Domitia Lepida*; and honour'd him with a particular Friendship and Esteem: And certainly, it will be allow'd, that he was worthy of them, whether Regard be had to his high Birth, or to his Personal Merit, which had procured him the Honour of marrying for his first Wife *Æmilia Lepida*, Grand-Daughter to *Augustus*. *Silanus*, belov'd by all the City, had the Misfortune to please *Messalina*; and that Princess minding nothing but the Pursuit of her Desires, declared to her Father-in-Law, Sentiments which he could not but abhor and detest.

That Senator, who was remarkable for his Probity, represented to her, that beside * his being a Subject, he had the Honour to be nearly related

* *Dio,*
lib. 60.

red to her, and could not therefore have the criminal Complaisance to give into her unaccountable Proposition. But this Reason was not sufficient to put *Messalina* beside her Purpose. The most powerful Motives lose their Strength, when they are to force Nature, as we term it, and oppose the Violence of Temper. The Empress, whose ardent Desires were only inflamed by the Difficulties she met with to gratify them, redoubled her Attacks, and *Silanus* his Resistance. He was in fine Victorious, and *Messalina* had the Confusion of employing to no purpose Threats and Promises alternatively to corrupt him. There needed no more, to excite the Rage of that Princess. She could not see herself thus disappointed of her Pleasure, without conceiving an implacable Hatred. She swore *Silanus's* Ruin, and to revenge by his Death the scandalous Steps she had taken without Success. She would not, however, expose herself, by appearing in this Affair; but put her Revenge into the Hands of *Narcissus*, who was entirely devoted to her, and never was at a Loss to make his Treachery succeed.

This Free-Man, grown powerful by the immense Riches he had amass'd together by Theft and Rapine, and by making himself the Rich Mens Scourge, both at *Rome* and in the Provinces; easily gave into *Messalina's* Proposition to ruin *Silanus*, whose Vertue was Proof against her bold Attacks: And because it would be to little purpose to impeach him of a Crime they could not make out, he had recourse to Artifice and Calumny. Very early one Morning he enters the Emperor's Chamber; where affecting the most sorrowful Countenance; and sighing for a while as if his Heart would break, to heighten the Danger he was going to relate, he at last told *Claudius*, he had seen the Traitor *Silanus*, in a Dream, strike a Dagger into the Breast of his Prince.

Hearing

* Sueton.
in Claud.

Hearing this concerted Story, *Messalina* counterfeited a Person distracted, and protested that she also had lately dreamt several such Dreams. *Claudius*, a Man of none of the deepest Penetration, was taken in the Snare they had laid for him. He was immediately struck with a terrible Fright; and his Alarm seem'd to him the more reasonable, in regard he took it to be well grounded, upon a false Imagination of certain and eminent Danger; for * at the very Instant that *Messalina* and *Narcissus* were acting this Scene, Word was brought the Emperor, that *Silanus* was at the Door, and craved Admittance. He was really there; for they had used a Stratagem equally shrewd and villanous, by sending to him over Night, that he must be at Court early the next Morning; which they knew he would not fail to comply with, upon Notice given. *Claudius*, already scared at what *Narcissus* and *Messalina* had been telling him, no sooner heard *Silanus* was at his Door, but he concluded that he came to execute the traiterous Part of their Dreams; and Fear having deprived him of the Power to sift to the bottom of this Affair, and examine whether the Senator was guilty or not, he order'd him to be kill'd upon the Spot. That unthinking Emperor fancy'd his Safety was now wrapt up in *Narcissus*. He return'd him a great many Thanks, that sleeping, as well as waking, he had been watchful of his Preservation; and had the Stupidity to go and make a tedious Recital of what had pass'd to the Senate.

Silanus's Murder was a sad Example to all the wealthy Citizens of *Rome*, to instruct them that their Lives could not be secure for a Moment, during the Reign of that Shadow of an Emperor, who was a mere Tool in the Hands of *Messalina* and his Free-Men, to execute their Cruelty: And the Misfortunes of their Friends gave them

them sufficiently to understand what they were to trust to. But in order to prevent this, they resolv'd to dispossess *Claudius* of the Throne he so unworthily fill'd. A Conspiracy was form'd, wherein a great Number of Senators and Knights engaged themselves; and to give it the better Face, they * put at their Head *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, Governor of *Dalmatia*, and Master of a considerable Army; who being intoxicated with Vanity and Ambition, rashly carry'd his Views to the Empire itself, and permitted his Associates to salute him by the Name of Emperor. The Greatness of this exalted Dignity so dazzled his Eyes, he could not see that of the Danger to which he expos'd himself.

This hazardous Enterprize was conducted with more Precipitation than Prudence; and thus it fail'd of taking its Effect. † *Camillus* and his Friends knowing *Claudius* to be a weak and timorous Prince, thought it sufficient to write him a Letter, full of Taunts and Threats, insolently commanding him to resign the Empire, which he was not capable of governing, and to return to a Private Station of Life. This ill judg'd Design proved fatal not only to the Authors of it, but to the whole City; and *Camillus's* Joy was as short-lived as *Claudius's* Fright. For while that Prince, who at first Sight fancy'd himself undone, was deliberating with the principal Senators, whether he should obey *Camillus*, or not; in comes a Messenger with Advice, that the Conspiracy was vanish'd of itself; the Soldiers having, out of a Principle of Religion, refused to obey their General, because when the Legions, who had actually taken an Oath of Fidelity to this new Emperor, were order'd to march to him, it was impossible to take up the Colours which had been fix'd into the Ground. This Accident fill'd their Heads with Superstition. || They concluded that the Gods would not con-

* *Tacit. Annal. 12.*

† *Dio, lib. 60. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 35.*

|| *Tacit.*

M

sent

sent to their recognizing *Camillus's* usurp'd Authority; and in this Persuasion they abandon'd that rebellious Senator, who thereupon betook himself to Flight, and got into an Island, where he was kill'd in the Arms of his Wife *Junia*; expiating his Temerity by a violent Death. A Lesson for the Ambitious Man, in whose Mind Reason ought to efface that false Image of Grandeur, which his Vanity has form'd, and remind him that an unhappy End is the ordinary Fate of those, whose Aspiring Temper has put them upon resisting Lawful Authority.

Mean time, diligent Search was made for the Persons concern'd with *Camillus* in the Conspiracy; which serv'd *Messalina* and *Narcissus* as a plausible Pretence to flake their Thirst both of Blood and Gold: For under Cover of Zeal for *Claudius*, they fill'd *Rome* with Ruin and Murders and Funerals. Never yet had the City groan'd under so cruel a Scourge! Riches became fatal to their Owners. Informers were not wanting, who accused them of Crimes against the State; for which all they had was forfeited, and very often their Lives to boot. Innocence was but a poor Defence against Falshood and Artifice. Under pretence of punishing *Camillus's* Associates, great Numbers of Persons were put to Death, who had no other Crime, than that of being wealthy; for 'tis certain, that most of these unhappy Victims to the Empress's Fury and Covetousness, were rather sacrificed to her insatiable Avarice, than Sufferers for any Guilt of their own contracting. Nothing was to be heard, but cruel Torture and sanguinary Executions. Poverty was the only Shelter against this Storm: And thus were the best Families in *Rome* reduced to Want and Misery; for, to escape the Cruelty of *Messalina* and *Narcissus*, they found it necessary to feed their Avarice; which was a Fire
not

not to be extinguish'd but by a Shower of Gold. Nothing was more common, than to see *Roman* Knights, and even Senators, whose Dignity used to command Respect, put upon the * Rack : And ^{* Dio, lib. 60.} in short, they were reduced to such a State of Misery, that several chose rather to die by their own Hands, than to linger out a Life of Fear and Anxiety. *Cacinna Patus* took this Resolution, encouraged thereto by the Example of his Wife *Arria*, who rowzed the drooping Courage of her Husband, by stabbing herself before his Face, with a Firmness of Mind which still makes a great Noise in (c) History.

Messalina, grown more insolent than ever upon the Defeat of this Conspiracy, and the deluding Success of her Crimes, carry'd her Lewdness to the highest Pitch ; gratify'd without Remorse all the Appetites of her unbridled Lust ; and abandon'd herself to the largest Excesses in Debauchery. Intoxicated with her Power, which indeed aw'd the whole World, she imagined that all ought to concede to her furious Desires. The least Resistance incurr'd her Anger ; and thus swell'd up the long Catalogue of Adulterers. *Proculus, Urbicus, Trogus, Calpurnianus* Captain of the Watch, *Rufus, Virgilianus* the Senator, *Mon-*

(c) *Cacinna Patus* had been honour'd with the Consulate ; but being engaged in *Scribonianus's* Conspiracy, he was seiz'd and carry'd to Rome ; whither his Wife *Arria* follow'd him, and used her Endeavours to save his Life : But seeing no Likelihood of Success, she would have persuaded *Patus* to prevent the Torture they design'd him, by bravely putting an End to his Life. And when she found her Husband wanted Courage to deprive himself of what he knew he could not long enjoy, she took a Dagger, and struck it into her own Breast ; then drawing it out again, she gave it her Husband, saying without the least Concern, *Nec dolet, Pate ; I feel no Pain, Patus.* *Martial* makes her say, she only felt the Stroke he was going to give himself.

*Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pato,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis :
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet, inquit ;
Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pate, dolet.*

tanus a Roman Knight, *Casinius*, and a great
 * *Juvenal.* many others whom the * Satyrift calls the Ri-
Sat. 6. vals of the Gods, were of this Number. † *Plau-*
 † *Plinius,* *tius Lateranus* also partook of the Empress's Fa-
lib. 24. c. 1. vours; as well as *Valens* the Physician, who pi-
 qued himself of his Eloquence, and with *Messali-*
na's Assistance instituted a new Sect.

Vinicius had not this Criminal Complaisance
 for *Messalina*. He was descended of an honour-
 able Family who had been dignify'd with two
 Consulates; he possess'd all those || rare Qua-
 lities that go to the Composition of a fine Gen-
 tleman; and to his Politeness was join'd an In-
 tegrity which had acquired him the Esteem of
 all the World. *Tiberius* did not only honour
 him with his Alliance, but advanced him to sever-
 al important Employs; and *Caligula*, whose un-
 stable and capricious Humour it was so difficult
 to please for any Time, never saw Occasion to
 reprehend him; such was the Regularity of his
 Conduct. *Messalina* was the only Person capable
 of depriving the Senate of one of its most illu-
 strious Ornaments. That Princess, who set no
 Bounds to her Passions or Desires, was such a
 Slave to her Lust, that she could not help making
 amorous Advances to *Vinicius*, which did not
 meet with the Reception she wish'd. She found
 in that Senator the Honesty she had devested
 herself of. He was too wise to defile the Bed
 of his Emperor; and as constantly resisted *Mes-*
salina's Temptations, as he despised her Threats:
 But he paid very dear for this.

A Woman of Imprudence enough to offer Fa-
 vours where they are not accepted, is much to be
 dreaded. She is capable of all the Cruelty that
 Revenge can inspire; and as she cannot see,
 without Shame, the Man to whom she would
 have prostituted her Honour and her Person, all
 her Thoughts are bent upon the Destruction of
 the

|| *Dio,*
lib. 60.

Tacit.

Annal. 15.

the Object which is continually reminding her of her scandalous Defeat. Both Sacred and Profane History furnish Examples of the barbarous Extremities, to which Women in such a Case have proceeded. *Joseph* * lost his Liberty for * *Genes. cap. 39.* preserving his Chastity inviolable. He was dismissed from his Employ, and shut up in a dismal Prison, for wisely resisting the impetuous Flames and ardent Solicitations of *Potiphar's* Wife: And † the Empress *Mary* of *Arragon*, Wife † *Cuspin. n Oth. III. Sigon.* to *Otho* III. barbarously contrived the Murder of a young Count of her Train, who, being more Faithful to his Prince than she to her Husband, would not commit the Crime to which she had long press'd him; and therefore she accused him to the Emperor of attacking her Chastity, when she found she could not violate his; and impudently demanded Justice for a Crime she alone had been guilty of; but for which, however, the too credulous Emperor caused the poor Count to be beheaded, by a hasty Judgment, of the Injustice whereof he was soon after convinced.

Such was also the Fate of *Vinicius*: He did not long survive his Victory. *Messalina* was possess'd of Power enough to command Obedience; and being transported with Rage and Spight, not from the Shame of having made Offers that she did not use to be shy of, but from the Mortification of having met with a Repulse, soon got rid of that Senator, whose Vertue was a severe and unsufferable Check upon her dissolute Manner of Living. *Vinicius* was poison'd by that Empress's Contrivance, and proved by his Death how dangerous it was to resist her.

Messalina's Incontinence ran so high, as to admit of no Bounds to her Crimes in that scandalous way; so that what we have hitherto related of her, is but a faint Sketch of her debauch'd Life. Ever thirsty of Pleasures, she was not con-

tent to wallow in the most brutish and filthy, to prostitute herself to every Comer, and to deny nothing to her craving Desires, (tho' it was impossible for her to satisfy them to the full) but she must
 * *Xiphilin.* have * Companions and Imitators in her Vices;
in Claud. and because the Authority of Example is always of great Weight, she thought to lessen the Horrour of her Crimes, by † associating in them
 † *Aurel.* Ladies of the first Quality in *Rome*, whom she ob-
Vit. Epit. liged to accompany her thro' all the Stages of
in Claud. Lewdness and Debauchery. Moreover, to carry their Beastliness as far as it would go, she forced them to prostitute themselves to the most abandon'd Libertines, and that in the Presence of their Husbands, whom she made Spectators of their Infamy, and many times Accomplices and
 ‡ *Juvenal.* Approvers of their Actions: ‡ For she heap'd
Sat. 6. the highest Dignities and Rewards upon those who were base enough to counterfeit a Pleasure in such abominable Prostitutions; and those, on the contrary, who declining to be Eye-Witnesses of their Shame, did not repair to these Assemblies, found Death the Reward of their Courage and Modesty. In fine, that Monster of Impurity, taking a Disgust to the ordinary Pleasures, which she could no longer relish, study'd how to satisfy her Passions with new-found Delights. In this View, she furnish'd a particular Room in the Palace, which became a fatal Gulf to swallow up the Vertue and Modesty of the most considerable Ladies in *Rome*; setting over the Door of that infamous Place, the Name of the most noted Courtesan in *Rome*, under whose Banner she was the first that prostituted herself every Night to as many as pleas'd, making a sordid Gain of her Crimes, and brutishly exacting Money from her Adventurers, for Favours so willingly bestow'd, and never retreating till forced by

by the Dawn of Day, * tired with the Repetition of her Crimes, without satiating her (d) Lust. * Juvenal. Sat. 16.

Here we are lost in Astonishment; because it seems contradictory to Reason, to believe that such crying and publick Enormities, which were known not only throughout the Empire, but even in all Foreign Nations, should yet be a Secret to *Claudius*; and that this Prince had not one Subject so true to his Interests, as to acquaint him with the scandalous lewd Pranks of his Wife. But it is certain, he was so stupidly senseless, that *Messalina* made him believe just what she pleas'd; easily discrediting any Person that dared speak against her, by the Ascendant she had over his weak Understanding; which made his Courtiers afraid to trust him with a Secret, because they knew he would immediately communicate it to his Wife; and that she had so perfectly got the Mastery of him, that she made him applaud whatever she did, and even her filthy Prostitutions.

This appear'd plainly in the Case of *Mnestor*, the finest Dancer in his Time. *Messalina*, who had acquired a Forehead of Brass, and knew not what it was to blush, was always fond of new Pleasures, and fell so ridiculously in Love with this Buffoon, that she caus'd Statues to be erected to his Honour at the Emperor's Expence; which serv'd as so many † Monuments of her Incontinence, and of the Weakness of the Prince who suffer'd it. † Dio.

However, as assiduously as she tempted *Mnestor* to have the same Complaisance for her, as so many others had had, she always met with an obstinate Resistance, not so much owing to his Vertue, as to the Fear of receiving one day the Reward due to his Temerity. But *Messalina*

(d) *Et lassata viris, nondum satiata, recessit.* Juv. Sat. 6.

would not be so baulk'd : She press'd that Comedian ; she caress'd him ; she threaten'd him ; till at last, she had him so many ways, that yielding to her vigorous Attacks, he promised to do whatever she pleas'd , with the Emperor's Approbation.

To ask *Claudius's* Consent, was in all Appearance to desire a thing impossible ; and 'tis Folly to suppose an Empress would be guilty of carrying her Impudence to that Height, as to endeavour to get her Husband's Leave to play him so foul a Trick. Yet this Condition, as extravagant as it was, cost *Messalina* no Pains at all. She goes to *Claudius* ; and after a thousand cajoling Expressions, complains that having had some Occasion for *Mneſter*, he refused to obey her : She exclaims against the Contempt put upon her Orders ; pretends a great deal of Concern about it ; and prays the Emperor to command Obedience to her Will. *Claudius* being, as we have observ'd, a very weak Prince, thought his Wife's Complaint very just : He sends for *Mneſter*, and charges him to perform without Reserve whatever the Empress should require from him. An Order thus precise removed *Mneſter's* Scruples, and dissipated his Fears. He became one of *Messalina's* Gallants, by *Claudius's* Command, of which he did not fail afterward to make the proper Use.

This Dancer was not, however, very true to her. He was admired by *Poppaa* also ; and to answer her Intentions, he had no need to obtain a Grant from the Emperor. *Messalina*, who would have kept *Mneſter* all to herself, no sooner heard of this Intrigue, but she resolv'd to ruin her Rival. This Lady was a celebrated Beauty, and shone without an Eclipse, till her Daughter *Sabina Poppaa* appear'd , by whom her Charms were exceeded, but not her Lewdness ; as if in
 * Ladies of that Name, Beauty and Modesty had
 made

* Dio,
 lib. 60,

made a perpetual Divorce. She was accused of too great Familiarity with *Valerius Asiaticus*, a Senator of great Distinction, who had been twice Consul. *Messalina* was the Person that charged *Poppæa* with this Crime; and she made the more Noise about it, because she * had a mind to hamper *Asiaticus*, that she might come at his famous Gardens of *Lucullus*, which she had long view'd with a greedy Eye. Thus were Jealousy and Avarice the two grand Incitements to the Charge against *Asiaticus* and *Poppæa*. * Tacit. Annal. 11.

Suilius and *Sofbrius*, Governors to Prince *Britannicus*, lent a helping Hand to this Prosecution. Those mercenary Souls accused *Asiaticus* of having disgraced himself in foul Adultery with *Poppæa*; and because *Messalina* was ashamed to punish in others a Crime she had been so often guilty of herself, this Accusation was back'd by another, of greater Weight; to wit, That *Asiaticus* had attempted to make the Garrisons of *Germany* revolt, and put himself at the Head of a Faction. Neither yet did Calumny stop here: He was farther accused of being the Author of *Caligula's* Murder, and of having glory'd in that horrid Assassination. *Messalina* could not have been better serv'd; nor could her Persecution and Revenge be cover'd with a more honourable and specious Veil, than that of Justice due to the temerarious Murder of an Emperor.

Upon this Accusation, *Asiaticus* is seiz'd at *Baia*; whence, being loaded with Chains, he is brought to *Rome*, and soon after conducted to the Palace, to be heard in his Defence. As he was innocent of all the Crimes they had laid to his Charge, he appear'd before *Claudius* with a Confidence suitable to his Integrity. He justify'd himself so well, and produced such plain Proofs of the Falseness of the Accusation; turning the Charge of Imposture upon his Accusers,

one

one of whom he quite cover'd with Confusion ; that *Claudius* was perswaded of his Innocence, and shew'd a great Inclination to acquitt him. Even *Messalina*, merciless as she was, began to entertain favourable Sentiments, and could not hear him so fully clear himself of every Article they had brought against him, without shedding Tears. But her Compassion soon gave way to her Covetousness. As she was not used to leave a Crime unfinished, when the Satisfaction of her Passions was in View, she stept out of *Claudius's* Chamber, where this Cause was hearing, and charged *Vitellius* not to let *Asiaticus* escape. *Messalina* could not have deliver'd her Commission to a Man better qualify'd for putting it in Execution. She knew his Character ; and he had answer'd it upon several nice Occasions, wherein Treason and Perfidy succeeded to a Tittle in his Hands. That fawning and corrupt Courtier, perceiving that *Claudius* was wavering in this Affair, and did not know what to resolve upon, approach'd that Prince, and with detestable Malice affecting a Compassion for that pretended Criminal, with whom he said he had always liv'd in a strict Friendship, he urged in his Favour, every thing that he thought would move the Passions ; magnifying the Services he had render'd his Country, and particularly to *Claudius's* Family : Then artfully dropping a Tear or two, he besought the Emperor, in *Asiaticus's* Name, to give him Leave to choose his own Death, which was all the Favour he craved.

Claudius, who thought *Vitellius* had spoke at the Request of *Asiaticus*, readily consented : And thus was that unfortunate Senator forced by Stratagem to open his Veins ; loudly protesting, that he should have had less Concern, to have died by some Wile of *Tiberius*, or some Stroke of *Caligula's* Cruelty, than to fall by the Treachery

chery of a Woman, and the Forgeries of a scandalous Calumniator. *Poppæa* could no longer live, when *Asiaticus* had given himself his Death. *Messalina* had so terrify'd her with the Threats of a darksome Dungeon, that she chose rather to die at once by her own Hand, than to die every day of Fear. The Evidence against *Asiaticus* did not perform their Work gratis; but were largely rewarded for their Villany. *Crispinus*, Captain of the Guards, for going to *Baia*, and seizing him, receiv'd a large Sum of Money, beside the Ornaments and Privileges of a *Prator*. *Sofbius* had a handsome Present; and the finest Employes in the Empire were the Price of *Vitellius's* Baseness and Cruelty. This Gentleman maintain'd his Posts by the same Methods that he acquired them; namely, by Artifice, Calumny, and above all, by Flattery, which he practis'd to so mean and unworthy a Degree, that he * was ^{* Sueton.} ^{in Vitell.} not ashamed to carry one of *Messalina's* Shooes about him under his Cloak, and to be continually kissing it in publick as a Sacred thing.

After having said thus much of *Messalina*, one would be apt to think she could not go any farther in Vice, and that indeed no new Crime was left for her to committ: But we must yet take Notice of one more, which is without Precedent or Example, and surpasses all the rest. It came into her Head, that she would publicly marry *Caius Silius*, with whom she was desperately in Love; and so have two Husbands at a time. *Silius* came of one of the best Families in *Rome*, and had perhaps the finest Shape of any Gentleman living. He was nominated to the Consulate, and had for his Wife *Junia Silana*, a Lady of Distinction and Merit, whom *Messalina* obliged him to repudiate, with the frantick Design to succeed her in her Bed.

Tho'

* Tac. t.
Annal. II.
Xiphilin.
Sueton.
in Claud.

Tho' that dissolute Empress had banish'd all Shame, and made an everlasting Divorce with Decency and Decorum; she nevertheless foresaw that such a monstrous Bargain would make a hideous Noise, throughout the Empire: And this serious Reflexion made her resolve to prepare Peoples Minds, by introducing a * Liberty for the Women to have several Husbands, which was not forbidden by the Laws; for she fancy'd the Authority of Example would wipe off the Shame of a such Marriage, and that she could not reasonably be censured for a Fact whereof so many others would be as guilty as herself. But considering again, that this Innovation would be attended with so many dreadful Consequences, as must draw upon her the Hatred of all the World; and being cloy'd with the ordinary Pleasures, the Enjoyment whereof was grown insipid to her; (for as she obtain'd them without Trouble, and tasted them without Pain, so she enjoy'd them without Relish) and no longer able to deny her craving Appetite the Ragoo of this new Match; she fortify'd herself against the Worst that could happen, and peremptorily resolv'd to marry *Silius*; in hopes, no doubt, that this Crime would meet with the same Success, as innumerable others that she had committed. In this blind Confidence, she heap'd upon her intended Bridegroom, Riches, and Honours, and Favours of all kinds. *Claudius's* Slaves, his Free-Men, and magnificent Furniture, all went to *Silius's* House; who now wanted nothing but the Title of Emperor.

Mean time, *Silius*, thro' all this pompous *Apparatus* to the Sovereignty, saw the Greatness of the Danger to which he expos'd himself by that rash and hazardous Enterprize, and had dreadful Apprehensions of a future Reckoning. The Fear of Punishment even balanced for a while his ambitious Desire of Promotion. But at last, whether

whether he had hopes of escaping by some Means the Punishment due to his Crime; whether he thought himself ruin'd, if he disobey'd *Messalina*; or whether he took Distaste at a Moderate Fortune, and had a mind to make his Way to the Throne; certain it is, that he shut his Eyes against the Danger, and fortifying himself against all Events, he now press'd *Messalina* to finish their Marriage, and to celebrate it in a Publick manner.

All the usual Ceremonies were accordingly practis'd at it. * The Contract was drawn up in * *Tacit. Annal. 11.* Form; Witnesses were call'd in to sign it; the solemn Clause, that they marry'd on purpose to have Children, was annex'd; and, which is most surprizing, *Claudius*, who knew nothing of this Affair, tho' it was transacted in his Presence, sign'd the Contract himself; *Messalina* having perswaded him, that the only Drift of it was to secure him against some ill Presages which seem'd to threaten him, and to turn them upon *Silius*. But this was not all: *Claudius* going into the Country a few days after, the Nuptials were celebrated with Magnificence. *Messalina* appear'd in the Assembly, dress'd like a Bride: She sacrificed to the Gods for the Prosperity of her Marriage; and after a sumptuous Entertainment which she gave the Company, wherein she sat close by *Silius*, shewing him all the Marks of Affection, that she could possibly have done, had he been her real Husband, she retired to the House of her new Spouse, and liv'd with him in as great Familiarity and Tranquillity, as if she had been with *Claudius*.

This History would pass for Fable, could the Authors who report it be discredited; and *Tacitus*, who is one of them, says he is perswaded that Posterity will hardly believe it. But what is once more surprizing, *Claudius*, who was then at *Ostia*, whither

whither *Messalina* excused herself from following him, under pretence of some Indisposition, knew nothing of what had pass'd, tho' every thing was done in the Presence of all the Orders in the City; so that probably this Crime, as well as the rest, had gone off with Impunity, because the Emperor knew nothing of it, had not *Narcissus* taken care to acquaint him with it.

That Free-Man, and all his Brethren, had quitted the Interests of *Messalina*, from the time that she caus'd *Polybius*, one of their Number, whom she had lov'd too well before, to be put to Death. This serv'd them as a sort of Admonition what they were to fear, and united them against the Empress, upon whose Friendship they found it was not safe to rely. Resolv'd therefore upon her Ruin, they had nothing to do but to fix on some sure Means of effecting it with Success: *Callistus*, *Pallas*, and *Narcissus*, thought themselves under a particular Obligation to inform the Emperor of *Messalina's* Marriage with *Silius*; not doubting but if it should reach *Claudius's* Ears by any other Canal than theirs, with whom he entrusted all his Affairs, they were in danger of being punish'd for so criminal a Silence. And beside, they were sensible, their Lives were at stake, in case *Silius* should succeed in his Undertaking. Nevertheless, *Pallas* and *Callistus* soon alter'd their Minds, and thought it their wisest way to endeavour to bring off *Messalina* from her Attachment to *Silius*, and so ruin their Project and break off their infamous Commerce at once. This Resolution, as soon broke as made, was follow'd by another. Convinced on the one hand, of the Empress's absolute Dominion over *Claudius*; for they knew she could make him believe what she pleas'd, if she had but a Moment's Talk with him; and persuaded on the other hand, that having spent her whole Life in Lewdness
and

and Debauchery, it would be impossible for her now to reform and take up; they thought it their best way to remain silent: *Pallas*, as fearing he should ruin himself by endeavouring to ruin the Empress; and *Callistus*, as having learnt by long Experience in the preceding Reigns, that those Courtiers always kept longer in Favour, who study'd and practis'd the Art of Diffimulation, than those who pursued violent Counsels. Thus did those base and selfish Favourites prefer their Safety to their Duty. The Fear of spoiling their Fortune, stopt their Mouth, as we may call it; and they left *Narcissus* alone to disclose the Marriage.

This Free-Man still persisted in his Resolution. His only * Care was how to keep it from *Messalina's* Knowledge, and yet acquaint the Emperor of his Consort's new Marriage to *Silius*. Two of *Claudius's* Concubines, in whom he put a great deal of Confidence, dazzled with the Prospect of the noble Rewards *Narcissus* promis'd them, and of their Credit's rising upon the Empress's Ruin, were the Persons who undertook this Affair. They went to the Emperor at *Ostia*; and casting themselves at his Feet, told him, with an affected Consternation, that *Silius*, who by a monstrous and criminal Marriage was become *Messalina's* Husband, had no less Design in View, than to dispossess him of the Throne; that all was in Confusion at *Rome*; and that *Silius* was very near being Emperor. Moreover, to satisfy him that what they said was true, they appeal'd to *Narcissus*. *Claudius*, struck with Amazement, and shuddering with Agony, sends immediately for his Free-Man, who was then at *Ostia*, and asks him concerning the pretended Marriage of *Messalina*. *Narcissus*, who expected this, affecting a sorrowful Countenance, and a whining Voice, own'd to him, that indeed he had till then conceal'd

* Tacit.
Annal II.

ceal'd the Empress's foul Adulteries, and hateful Prostitutions of herself to *Valens*, and *Plautius*, and innumerable others, to the no less Scandal than Injury of her Husband and Sovereign; because he was loth the whole Empire should know the Shame and Reproach which her abominable Vices reflected upon the Family of *Cæsar*; and because he hoped that *Messalina* would return to herself: But seeing her Dishonour was publick, and that she shut the Door of her Heart against Repentance, he first got an exact Information of the Empress's Conduct, and then judg'd himself no longer at liberty to disguise the Truth, or conceal her Marriage with *Silius*, celebrated in the Presence of all the Orders in *Rome*. *Geta*, Captain of the Guards in Waiting, and *Turanus*, Clerk of the Receipt of Corn, confirm'd all that *Narcissus* had said; whereupon every body advis'd the Emperor to provide for his own Security. *Claudius* was so astonish'd for a while, that he gave himself up for lost. He repair'd with all Expedition to the Camp, and not thinking even that a Place of Safety, he was continually enquiring whether *Silius* was Emperor yet?

All this while, *Messalina*, intoxicated with her deluding Pleasures, continued at her new Spouse *Silius*'s House; with whom, notwithstanding her Crimes, she enjoy'd her false Happiness with as profound a Tranquillity, as if she had had nothing to fear. She summon'd together a Company of Favourites, and Women as dissolute as herself, to meet in Masquerade. Here they celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus* with all those filthy Ceremonies, and obscene Gestures, which were practis'd in the *Bacchanalia*. *Valens* was one of this infamous Assembly; and we read that that debauch'd Physician, having, to shew his Activity, climb'd up a very high Tree, cry'd out that he saw a dreadful Storm arising from the side of *Ostia*.

Whether

Whether the thing was really so, or whether he spoke it by some secret Prefage, it was soon after verify'd; for Messengers arrived from all Parts to acquaint them, that *Claudius*, being inform'd how Matters stood, was coming from *Ostia* with the Resolution to punish the Disorders of his Wife, and the Temerity of her Debauchers. *Cæsar*'s Approach struck Terror into the Hearts of all who compos'd that infamous Assembly: Some fled one way, and some the other; but *Messalina* retired to the Gardens of *Lucullus*, which she seiz'd upon the Murder of *Asiaticus*; and *Silius* affecting an outward Security, went to Council to discharge the Functions of his Office; tho' his Fear was as great, as his Danger was pressing.

Messalina, notwithstanding the Face of her Affairs was so lowring, did not despair of averting the Storm, could she but get to the Speech of *Claudius*; such was her Confidence in that Prince's Stupidity. It was not the first time she had come off with flying Colours, and impos'd Falshood upon him for evident Truth: She could lull his Credulity with such artful Caresses, as it was not in *Claudius*'s Power to resist.

To mollify the Emperor's Heart, she caus'd *Britannicus* and *Octavia* to go with her to meet him; and prevail'd with the Great Vestal *Vibidia* to follow them. * Having pass'd thro' the City on foot, abandon'd by all the World, whom the Remembrance of her past Life had render'd insensible of her Misery, she found at the City-Gate a Gardener's Dung-Cart. In this humble Conveyance she proceeded to meet her injur'd Lord, whom she yet flatter'd herself she could move, could she but once come at the Speech of him. *Narcissus*, who knew very well the Importance of such an Interview, managed his Affairs so dextrously, that none she could have. He went on purpose into the Emperor's Coach; where

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 11.

he entertain'd him with Stories of *Messalina's* Adulteries. *Vitellius* and *Cæcinna* were also in the same Coach; but they kept Silence, without speaking a Word either for or against *Messalina*, lest they should incur her Hatred if she got over this Affair, or seem to favour her Crimes if they should speak in her behalf.

At length *Messalina* appear'd, and importunately demanded that *Cæsar* might have Liberty to hear the Mother of *Britannicus* and *Octavia*. This was a ticklish Conjunction for *Narcissus*; for a single Moment was now to decide his Fate and that of *Messalina*. The cunning Free-Man, however, knowing the Consequence, artfully diverted the Emperor from listening to his Wife, by pressing him to peruse the Papers he deliver'd to him, containing the History of all her Intrigues: And by this means he amused him, till *Claudius's* Coach had left the Empress and her Children, whom *Narcissus* likewise hinder'd from being presented to their Father, a great way behind. However, *Vibidia*, notwithstanding all the Precautions of *Narcissus*, found means to speak to *Claudius*. She represented to him, with a great deal of Freedom, that he ought not to believe all that was said against *Messalina*; that the different Reports that were spread of her, might possibly be no better than Forgeries invented by her Enemies to prejudice him against her, and thereby effect her Ruin; and that at least it was but reasonable to give her a Hearing before he pass'd Sentence upon her. *Narcissus*, who fear'd the Nun would immediately produce a Change in the Emperor's wavering Mind, interrupting her, said, that *Messalina* should be heard; but that a *Vestal*, as she was, ought to trouble herself only with her Sacrifices.

Claudius sat like one struck dumb and immovable; so that if you had seen him, you would have

have sworn he had no Concern in the Affair: But when he came to *Rome*, and entring *Silius's* House, (for thither *Narcissus* had the Wit to conduct him) found it adorn'd with all the richest and most magnificent Furniture of his Palace, and particularly that which formerly belong'd to *Drusus* and the *Nero's* his Grand-Fathers, then he storm'd, and, in a Passion equal to his Shame, order'd *Silius* and the rest of *Messalina's* Paramours to be put to Death. *Lateranus* was excepted upon the score of his Uncle's Services and exalted Merit; and *Cæsonius* was pardon'd for Reasons which Modesty will not permitt us to explain, but which render'd him the more worthy of Death.

Mneſter was for sharing his Crime with the Emperor, who commanded him to do whatever *Messalina* would have him. He protested that he should never have been guilty of such a thing, without an exprefs Order of his Prince; but, obliged to obey him, he sinn'd with Reluctance and by Necessity, and had none of those selfish and ambitious Views, which govern'd the rest of the Empress's Admirers, who brought that Dishonour upon *Cæsar's* Family only to aggrandize their Fortunes by the Reward of their Crime, or to gratify their unruly Passions. These Arguments did so weigh with *Claudius*, that *Scaramouch* had undoubtedly been pardon'd, had not all the Free-Men represented to him, that he ought not to escape the Punishment of a Vice which had cost so many better Men their Lives; that Death was the least he could suffer, to atone for his Impudence in defiling the Emperor's Bed; and in short, that he was as much an Adulterer as any of the others, let it be voluntary, or by Force.

While all this was transacting, *Messalina* labour'd under violent Agonies in her Retirement at *Lucullus's* Gardens. Sometimes she despair'd

of obtaining Pardon for her Crimes, they were so great; and at other times she flatter'd herself she might do it by means of those fond Caresses which had so often set her to rights in *Claudius's* Opinion. In effect, it is certain, that had not *Narcissus*, by hastening the Death of that Princess, put it out of her Power to speak to the Emperor, *Claudius* had never put her to Death: For being return'd to his Palace, where he found a Supper ready prepared to his Tooth, and forgetting in his Wine all that had been told him of *Messalina*, he order'd Notice should be given to that poor Wretch (for so he call'd her) to come and justify herself the next Morning.

This Justification of the Empress would undoubtedly have been the Gaining of her Cause, and the Ruin of those who had accused her. *Narcissus* was well aware, that his Life now depended upon the Death of *Messalina*; and that if he waited the Event of the next day, he was inevitably undone, because he knew the Emperor never had the Power to resist that Princess's Caresses, who never needed above a Moment's Discourse with him, to make him believe what she pleas'd: And thus he resolv'd to run all Hazards. He went out of *Claudius's* Chamber therefore; and meeting some Centurions in the Court-Yard, he order'd them, in the Emperor's Name, to go and dispatch *Messalina*; and *Evo dius*, who was one of *Claudius's* Free-Men, was charged to assist at the Execution. These Men enter'd the Gardens of *Lucullus*, where they found the Empress reposing herself upon a Turf, in an Equipage and Posture calculated to move Compassion. Her Mother *Lepida* was with her, and would not forsake her in her Distress, tho' *Messalina* had carry'd herself with enough of Indifference toward her in the Height of her Glory. This Lady, who was very sensible

ble of her Daughter's Crimes, would have persuaded her to prevent, by one magnanimous Stroke, that Death, which was justly due to her Adulteries: But *Messalina's* Heart being immerged in Voluptuousness, and stupify'd with habitual Vice, she had no Sense of Honour left, (for it was one among the *Romans* to deprive themselves of Life under great Calamities) but abandon'd herself to Tears, and the Lamentation of her bitter Fate.

Mean while, the Soldiers forced the Gates, and a Captain approach'd the Empress, without speaking a Word: But *Evodius*, who had been a Slave, shew'd no such Reserve. He reproach'd her in the most outrageous manner, made her a Rehearsal of all her Crimes, and * insulted her with a Barbarity suitable to his first Stage of Life. She attempted to dispatch herself with a Knife, which her trembling Hands presented several times to her Breast; but still they refused to do that Office. Whereupon, the Captain, without more ado, saved her the Trouble, and ran her thro' with his Sword. * Tacit. Annal. 11.

Claudius was at Table, when Word was brought him that *Messalina* was dead, without explaining whether she was kill'd, or whether she had destroy'd herself: Nor did he make any Enquiry about it. On the contrary, just as if they had told him the most indifferent News in the World, he call'd for a Glass of Wine, and went on with his Repast. Nay, he did not afterward shew any Sign of Joy or Sorrow; which was doubtless owing to his Stupidity: For he reflected so little upon what was past, that one day as he sat at Table, he ask'd † why the Empress did not come? † Sueton. in Claud.

Thus died the unhappy *Messalina*, whose Life had been one continued Course of monstrous Wickedness. It is particularly remarkable, that she was assassinated in the Gardens of *Lucullus*,

which she procured by unjustly putting *Astianus* to Death; as if God was pleas'd to revenge the Murder of that Senator upon his Persecutor, by so ordering it, that she fell upon the very Spot which had been the Object of her unreasonable Wishes; as he formerly * revenged that of *Naboth*, by the dreadful Execution of *Jezebel*, who for the Lucre of his Vineyard rais'd up Sons of *Belial* to witness false things against him, for which he lost his Life; but who, by the just Judgment of God, was afterward cast headlong out of a Window in that very † *Jezebel*, where *Naboth's* Vineyard was. Terrible Examples! which should teach those who have Authority in their Hands, never to make use of it to invade another's Property, who being exposed to their Avarice or Persecution, may fall under their Power; because sooner, or later, the Almighty takes a just Vengeance upon such Injustice and Oppression.

* 1 Kings,
chap. 21.

† 2 Kings,
chap. 9.



AGRIPPINA,

CLAUDIUS's Last Consort.



|| Tacit.
Annal. 12

O Empress ever made more Noise in the World than *Agrippina*. Every thing belonging to her was great; her Birth, her Beauty, her Vertue, her Vices, and her Misfortunes. || She was Daughter to *Germanicus*, the Love and Delight of the *Roman* People, and to *Agrippina*, Grand-Daughter of *Augustus*, who lay in of her in a City of the *Ubii*, named upon that score *Colonia Agrippina*, and now *Colegn*; and it was afterward remark'd, that this Princess had a double Tooth in the Right side

ſide of her Mouth, which * *Pliny* reckons among * *Hiſtor. Natural. l. 7. c. 8.*
the happy Prefages of a great Fortune.

Agrippina was endow'd by Nature with all the Advantages of Body and Mind, that could accompliſh or render a Princeſs agreeable; had ſhe not degraded herſelf by the ill Uſe ſhe made of her Qualifications. † Her Beauty yielded to † *Xiphilin. in Claud.*
none in *Rome*. She had a noble Air, a fine Deportment, and a brisk and active Spirit, equal to the greateſt Deſigns; the Fire and Delicacy whereof ſhone throughout thoſe curious § *Mé- § Voſſius, Hiſt. Lat. lib. 1.*
moires which ſhe wrote of her own Adventures, and which were of ſo great Uſe to *Tacitus* in the compiling of his *Annals*. But on the other hand, ſhe was || inſatiably covetous, had a Jealouſy || *Plinius, lib. 7. c. 8.*
capable of the moſt barbarous Revenge, and withall, a boundleſs Ambition, which was the principal, if not the only Cauſe of her Crimes and her Miſfortunes. Being Daughter, Siſter, Niece, Wife, and Mother of *Cæſars* or (a) Emperors, ſhe brought into the World with her a violent Inclination to rule, which ſhe could never get the Maſtery of. This Deſire was a ſort of Original Sin in her, which tainted all her Actions, and was the unhappy Brooder of all manner of Crimes.

Agrippina paſſ'd her younger Days with her Grand-Mother *Antonia*, whoſe unexceptionable Conduct might have ſerv'd her as an excellent Pattern of Vertue; but ‡ this Princeſs, who educated with her own Children thoſe of her Son ‡ *Eutrop. Sueton. in Cai.*
Germanicus, in vain read Lectures of Wiſdom, and inſpired Sentiments of Honour: Her Labour in this reſpect was loſt; and ſhe had the Unhappineſs to ſee her Grand-Daughters com-

(a) *Agrippina* had *Augustus* and *Claudius* for her Husband:
for her Great Grand-Father; She was Siſter to *Caligula*,
Agrippa for her Grand-Father, and *Nero's* Mother.
Germanicus for her Father,

* *Dio,*
lib. 59.

mitt the foulest Crimes, at an Age when one would have thought their tender Minds yet free from any Passion. * Vice did in a manner prevent their Reason; for they were but very young, when horrid Incest with their Brother *Caligula* corrupted their Imperial Blood: So that they may serve as an Instance, that Modesty, and Discretion, and Chastity do not always run in the Blood, or follow from good Education; but that they are sometimes Vertues of Temper and Constitution, rather than Hereditary Vertues.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 4.

Agrippina was very young, when her Mother brought to *Rome* the Urn of *Germanicus*. That mournful and solemn Sight revived the Grief of the *Romans* upon Occasion of his Death, and greatly contributed to augment the good Inclination they had, and always preserv'd, for those of his Race. *Tiberius* himself, as jealous as he was of the Merit of that great Man, of whose Death he was not innocent, counterfeited the exterior Marks of Sorrow. He pretended a great deal of Concern; and as if he would provide Fortunes for his Children, he took *Caius Caligula* home to him; and as soon as *Agrippina* was of Years, he † gave her in Marriage to *Domitius Ænobarbus*.

§ *Sueton.*
in Ner.

That *Roman*, beside the Lustre of ancient Nobility, had the Honour to be ally'd to the Family of *Cæsar*; and these made the Whole of his Merit; for in other respects he was as vile a Person as ever appear'd upon the Face of the Globe. Deceitful to a great degree of Perfidiousness; cruel, barbarous, brutish; defiled with Murders, Adulteries, and horrid Incest with his Sister *Lepida*; guilty, in short, of all manner of Crimes, § he himself acknowledg'd, that from his Marriage with *Agrippina*, no Good could accrue to the Common-Wealth. And the Truth is, nothing that was good ought to have been expected

peſted from a Man of his deteſtable Character, and from a * Woman who dated her Incontinence * *Plinius*, almoſt from her Cradle. *lib. 7. c. 8.*

This Prediction was but too ſadly verify'd in the Birth of *Nero*, who came into the World, Heels foremoſt, at (b) *Antium*, and proved the terribleſt Scourge that ever the Empire felt. They deliberated a long while about a Name to give him; and *Agrippina* having deſired *Caligula*, who was then upon the Throne, to do it, the Emperor gave him in Deriſion that of *Claudius*, (for the || Prince of that Name was then the Sport of the Court) which vex'd *Agrippina* ſo heartily, || *Sueton.* in *Ner.* that ſhe gave him her Father's Name of *Domitius*.

This Princeſs ſetting out in the World with Inceſt, did not promiſe a very chaſte Life; neither did ſhe falſify the bad Opinion which the World had conceiv'd of her. For † ſhe liv'd † *Tacit.* with her Brother *Caius* in a ſcandalous Familia- *Annal. 14.* rity. *Tigellinus* was baniſh'd for violating her Honour; and *Lepidus*, her Couſin-German, (and Brother-in-Law, according to *Dio*) was put to Death for receiving Criminal Favours from her.

(b) *Antium* was formerly a very opulent and agreeable Sea-Port Town; and the Capital of the *Volſci*. There was a magnificent Temple dedicated to *Fortune*; and the Town was under the Protection of that Goddeſs.

O *Divæ, gratum quæ regis Antium,*
ſays *Horace*, *Od. 33. lib. 1.* *Antium* was taken by the *Romans*, who ſent a Colony thither: But the Inhabitants grew impatient under the Yoke of Servitude, and revolted. Their Revolt, however, did not ſucceed; for they were defeated by the Conſul *Quintius*. Their Town was taken, together with all

their Ships, which being carry'd to *Rome*, the *Roſtra*, or Pulpit for Orations, was made with their Beaks. A ſecond Colony was ſent thither, which was the firſt Roman Colony. The *Romans* took great Delight in *Antium*, by reaſon of its Beauty; and *Caligula*, who according to ſome Authors was born there, had Thoughts of Transferring the Seat of the Empire to that Place. Here *Agrippina* lay in of *Nero*, and *Poppæa* of the Princeſs *Claudia*. *Antium* is now only a Caſtle built on the Ruins of the old Town, upon the Sea-Coaſt between *Rome* and *Naples*; and is call'd *Nettuno*.

The

*Rutil.
in itiner.
Lepid.

† Dio,
lib. 60.

The Truth is, *Lepidus* deserv'd no milder a Punishment. So many Relations as he had to *Agrippina*, ought to have inspired him with more honourable Sentiments; but this, after all, was not the Crime which render'd him obnoxious to *Caligula*, who caus'd him to be put to Death, to punish his Ambition rather than his Debaucheries: For * *Lepidus* thought to have made a Stalking Horse of *Agrippina*, to mount the Throne; and *Agrippina* was kind to *Lepidus* in the same View. But this Design cost them both very dear; for † *Lepidus* was beheaded; and *Agrippina* had the Confusion to be forced publicly to carry the Urn with her Gallant's Ashes upon her Shoulder, from the Place of his Execution to *Rome*; thus adding Ignominy to her Pain. Neither was this the only Mortification the Emperor gave her. *Caius* being enraged at her and her Sisters, was not sparing of the bitterest Invectives. He reproach'd them with the most scandalous Crimes; publish'd Letters of their Intrigues, which exposed them to the whole City; and banish'd them to the Island of *Pontia*, after he had consecrated to *Jupiter Vindex*, or the Avenger, three Daggers which he pretended they had provided to murder him.

Caligula's Death, however, put an End to *Agrippina's* Exile. Her Uncle *Claudius* recall'd her and her Sisters, and restored to her all the Estate, which *Domitius Ænobarbus* left her at his Death, and which had been seiz'd by *Caligula*. For the rest, the Disgrace of her Banishment did not eradicate *Agrippina's* Desire to reign, which was the principal Cause of that Misfortune. The Pomp and Pleasures of the Court did, on the contrary, beget new Desires. She was perfectly devour'd with Ambition; which stifling in her Breast all Sentiments of Honour, she resolv'd to advance her Fortune at any rate. The first Method she try'd,

try'd, was none of the least Criminal; for she used her Endeavour to attract the Love of her Uncle *Claudius*. In this View, she display'd all the Charms of her Beauty; which were the more dangerous to that weak Prince, in regard *Agrippina* had abundance of artful and insinuating ways of setting them off, and shew'd the Emperor a Complaisance capable of ensnaring the most indifferent Heart: But *Claudius* did not penetrate into the Secret of *Agrippina's* Design: He was too stupid to apprehend, that her fond Caresses were rather the Effect of Policy, than of Inclination. Mean while, this was not the only Road that *Agrippina* took to advance herself. Her Pride put her upon different Measures: For fearing she should never be able singly to carry her Point, she endeavour'd to find a Husband that would second her Intention, and had Courage and Ambition enough to seize upon the Empire whenever her Uncle *Claudius* should die. *Galba* seem'd to her a proper Person for this Enterprize; his illustrious Birth, his great Places, and his powerful Interest, rendering him considerable both at Court and in the Empire: But this *Roman* answering with Coldness and Indifference to the passionate Overtures made by *Agrippina*, as we shall perceive in the Sequel, that Princess turn'd her Views another way. *Crispus* (c) *Passienus* was the next Object she pitch'd upon.

(c) *Passienus* was a noble Orator, whose Merit was rewarded with two Consulates, and with a Statue in the *Basilica Fuliana*. He was grown elderly when he marry'd *Agrippina*; but 'tis reported that no Man ever carry'd his Age better. He was of a cheartful merry Temper; and his Conversation was the more engaging, for his genteel way of

Rallery. He behaved himself so politickly, as well as finely, that he kept in the Good Graces of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, tho' it was the hardest thing in the World to humour those capricious Emperors, and not incur their Anger or Jealousy. *Tiberius*, for his part, as haughty as he was, did not disapprove in him a certain Freedom, which he would not perhaps

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He had neither the Nobility, nor the Power of *Galba*; but to supply those Deficiencies, he was extremely rich; and *Agrippina* fancy'd his immense Riches would be of great Service to her, as they had seldom been known to fail in any Case where dexterously apply'd. She marry'd him therefore; but had the Secret of ridding herself of him, as soon as she had secured the Estate. This came very seasonably to the Support of her Ambition, by putting it in her Power to make a great Figure, and appear every where with Distinction; which she could not do before, because her former Husband *Ænobarbus* left his Son Heir to a Third Part only of his Estate, which was not very considerable, take it all together. Her Grandeur made her shine at Court; but at the same

have tolerated in another: For *Passienus*, pleading one day in the Senate, the Emperor being there, he address'd himself first to the Senators, and then to *Tiberius*; *Patres conscripti*; & tu, *Cæsar*. A dangerous Liberty this, to take with a Prince who study'd how to humble the Senate; and at a time too, when Flattery was very high in Vogue. *Passienus* was particularly famous for an admirable Presence of Mind, which never fail'd him upon any Occasion, but often extricated him out of such Difficulties, as others would have sunk under. Doubtless, he had great need of it one day, when *Caligula*, to puzzle him, abruptly ask'd him, whether he had a Sister for his Mistress, as well as himself? A Question so ridiculous, and at the same time so captious, was enough to gravel a Man altogether unprepared; because the Alternative render'd the Answer criminal

and dangerous. To deny it, was to upbraid the Emperor with his Incest with *Drusilla*, whom, tho' his Sister, he then publicly kept. To answer in the Affirmative, were it only out of Complaisance, would have been parting with his Honour, ruining that of his Sister, glorying in an abominable Crime, and perhaps accusing himself. But *Passienus* was not at a loss; for very judiciously taking the Middle way, he answer'd *Caligula* with his usual Readiness, *Not yet, Sir*. *Passienus* took a particular Delight in Agriculture; and went often to *Tusculum*, where he had Gardens which he kept extremely neat. 'Tis reported, that he so admired a Mulberry-Tree, which grew at *Tusculum*, in a Wood consecrated to *Diana*, that he went sometimes and lay under it, and would often kiss it, and water it with Wine, if the Expression will bear.

time

time it alarm'd the Empress *Messalina*; and it was a dangerous thing to give her Umbrage. *Agrippina*, who had too much Sense not to apprehend that which she expos'd herself to, chose rather to put some Constraint upon herself, than hazard her Life. From this time she behaved with a great deal of Modesty and Reserve, whenever she was in the Emperor's Company, with Witnesses present; deferring her Wheedles and Caresses, which she could hardly keep free from Guilt, to the more convenient Opportunities of their conversing alone.

Claudius was not the only Man she lavish'd them upon: Her Favours were reach'd out to all promiscuously, whom she thought capable of doing her Service when Occasion should offer. Nor was it long before one presented, and *Agrippina* reap'd the Fruit of her abominable Crimes. *Messalina* being assassinated, as we have observ'd, *Pallas*, *Callistus*, and *Narcissus* began to consider of another Wife for the Emperor; and each of them was desirous of the Honour of recommending. Those three Free-Men had got such an entire Mastery of *Claudius*'s Temper, that their Will was the Measure of his, and he did not dare contradict any thing those insolent Ministers agreed upon. Invested with the Emperor's Authority, they acted just as they pleas'd, without Regard to the Laws or their Sovereign, who blindly entrusted them with all his Affairs; and they were glad to keep him thus indolent, because they might have the Direction of every thing. *Pallas* had the Care of the Treasury; *Narcissus* was his Secretary; and (d) *Callistus* answer'd all the Peti-

<p>(d) <i>Callistus</i> had been Slave to a Private Person, who expos'd him to Sale among the Riff-raff of the Chain: But Fortune was pleas'd to raise this Man, till she made him Master of the Person's Life</p>	<p>and Death, who had set him to Sale with such Contempt. For <i>Callistus</i> being receiv'd among <i>Caligula</i>'s Free-Men, he had the Secret of gaining his Favour and Confidence. His Rise made him insolent; tions.</p>
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tions. In these important Employments, they became a Scourge to the whole Empire; for, as they obtain'd them by a thousand vile Actions, they fill'd them with the highest Insolence. It was to these Men, that the *Romans* crowded to pay the Homage they grudged to the First *Cæsar*: To them the most considerable Senators, and Persons of prime Distinction in all the Orders of the City, servilely made their Court, for the Safety of their Lives and Fortunes; the three Free-Men being the Arbiters of the Universe. Children could not inherit their Fathers Estates, without their good Pleasure. The Provinces groan'd under the Load of Taxes they impos'd upon them, whereof

and the base Submission that was paid him by those who courted Fortune, supported his Insolence. There appear'd at this Scoundrel's Door, all the Persons of Distinction at *Rome*, who came to make their Court to him, and very often return'd as they came, tho' they had begg'd, for an Hour or two together only a Moment's Audience. *Seneca* assures us, that he has seen his old Master waiting sometimes whole Days at *Callistus's* Door, without the Favour of an Admittance. *Scribonius Largus* the Physician dedicated a Book to him. 'Tis certain, that he was very powerful at Court; and *Domitius Afer* is reckon'd indebted to him for his Life, which *Caligula* would have taken away for very Jealousy; *Domitius* having a great Reputation for his Eloquence, wherein the Emperor pretended to excell all the World. *Caius* was resolv'd he should not want an Accuser, and therefore did that Office himself; and pronounced in full

Senate a long Oration that he had compos'd against him. *Domitius*, instructed perhaps by *Callistus* how to behave, made no Answer to the Emperor's Discourse; but larded him, on the contrary, with the highest Encomiums; not forgetting to admire his Eloquence above all things. This Politick Submission pleas'd *Caligula's* Anger; who soon after made him Consul, as a Reward for his yielding to him in point of Eloquence. *Callistus* however complain'd to the Emperor of the Invectives he had utter'd against *Domitius*: To which he answer'd, that the Senate would not for any thing but have heard such a fine Discourse. 'Tis believ'd *Callistus* was in the Secret of the Conspiracy against his Master's Life. He insinuated himself into *Claudius's* Favour, by persuading him, that he had *Caius's* Command to poison him; but that he always found some pretence or other to defer it.

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the Emperor receiv'd but a small Share. Their Houses were cramm'd with the Furniture they acquired by Acts of Violence and Rapine: And in short, they took care so to fatten themselves with other Mens Substance, that either of the Three was richer than *Crassus*.

After *Narcissus* and *Callistus* had propos'd to *Claudius*, the one *Patina*, and the other *Lollia*, *Pallas* spoke on the behalf of *Agrippina*. We have already given you the Reasons he alledg'd in her favour: They were such, as determin'd *Claudius* to preferr her before the other two. There was no Obstacle to remove, but their Affinity; for till then there was no Precedent among the *Romans* of an Uncle's marrying his Niece. They look'd upon such an Alliance as a Crime which could not but prove fruitful of dismal Calamities to the Empire; and a Marriage of this nature had never been relish'd, had not *Vitellius*, the basest Man alive, made it pass Muster by one of his ordinary Fetches.

That fawning Courtier, finding *Claudius* very irresolute upon the Article of his Marriage with *Agrippina*, because of their Relation, he represented to him that there was nothing in his Scruples; that a Prince was not bound by all the Laws enacted for Private Persons; that it was no new thing, for Reasons of State, to dispense sometimes with the ordinary Rules; and that, at least, since he had Scruples about marrying his Niece, he ought to referr himself to the Judgment of the Senate, the genuine Interpreters of the Law, because their Decision would prevent all Remorse, supposing it should be favourable to the Match. *Claudius* could object nothing to all this; and so to the Judgment of the Senate it was left.

It was not long before they met. *Vitellius* was one of the number; and after he had exaggerated

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.

gerated the * Necessity of the Emperor's marrying again, to the end that, being made easy in his Domestick Affairs by a Wife, he might apply himself with greater Diligence to those of the Empire; he added, that he could not think there was the least room for Deliberation concerning the Choice of a proper Person, *Agrippina* being the only one that could reasonably be proposed to him, on account of the eminent Qualities which ought to adorn *Cæsar's* Consort, and which were only to be found in that Princess: That for the rest, their Affinity should be no Obstacle to a Match in all other respects so advisable, because the Rigour of the Laws ought to yield to the Necessities of the Republick; that therefore he could not see why they should not conform themselves to the Usages of other Nations: And in conclusion, that this would not be the first time the Laws had been mitigated, inasmuch as the Marriage of Cousin-Germans, which was formerly forbidden, was now become very frequent and common.

The Senate made a Decree agreeable to *Vitellius's* Advice, and to *Agrippina's* Inclination. She became *Claudius's* Spouse, and by this Step ascended the Throne of the Empire: A Situation which her Desires had long since anticipated. The Commencement of her Reign was signalized by an Action which pleas'd all the Orders in the City. She recall'd *Seneca* the Philosopher from the Banishment *Claudius* had condemn'd him to, for a Crime which very ill became the Gravity of his Profession; and constituted him Preceptor to the young Prince *Domitius*. This Choice met with an universal Approbation. *Seneca's* Reputation ran high at *Rome*; and the Citizens confided, that a Prince form'd by so great a Master, could imbibe none but Sentiments of Vertue and Honour.

Agrippina's

Agrippina's Advancement to the Station of Empress gave her an absolute Authority; so that all her Care now was, how to maintain what she had got: But the Means she employ'd for this End were shameful and violent. She kept under a hard and servile Dependence, Persons who were not considerable either for their Interest, or their Employs. She persecuted such, as she apprehended the least Fear from, and could not bring to her Bow. * She bestow'd the most ^{*Xiphilin.*} Criminal Favours in Exchange for the Friendship ^{*in Claud.*} of those, who had Power or Interest enough at Court, to impede the Execution of her vast Projects. Those who had too much Resolution to shrink at her Menaces, had not Vertue enough to resist her Charms. And thus her Beauty and her Power made her an infinite Number of Creatures and Dependents.

This serv'd only to render her the more haughty and insolent. The Emperor no sooner made her his Wife, but he became her Slave. *Agrippina*, the Sovereign Mistress of that weak Prince, did every thing, order'd every thing, disposed of every thing. When Favours were to be conferr'd, she had no Regard to Birth or Merit, but to the Respect only which they had for her Person. Hence appear'd at once upon the Stage of Fortune, a Sett of Upstarts, who must for ever have lain dormant in the Obscurity of their Birth, had it not been for some signal Crimes, which recommended them to *Agrippina's* Favour. Vertue made but an indifferent Figure, being left thus destitute of Rewards. The Senate-House was fill'd with Men that had no Pretension to Honour, Blood, or Merit; while those noble Senators, who had been the Ornament of *Rome*, were left to languish under Misery and Contempt. The most illustrious Dignities of the Empire were fully'd by the Vileness of the Per-

sons preferr'd to them. Mean enfranchis'd Slaves were advanced to the highest Posts, and invested with those glorious Ornaments, which were formerly granted only as the Reward of Vertue. The Career of Honour was now an untrodden Path. The way to raise a Man's Fortune, and to get Preferment, was not by serving the Republick: It was not by subduing Provinces, by gaining Victories, and the like Exploits, that in these unhappy Reigns Men came to be Prætors, Censors, or Consuls. The blackest Crimes, on the contrary, were the Steps by which they ascended to those Dignities. They were not to be obtain'd but by Treachery, Calumny, Murder, and Breach of Faith.

But what was yet more deplorable, the Senate, being composed of a Set of Men of sneaking Dispositions, approved by their servile Decrees whatever the Emperors, or rather the Free-Men in their Names, proposed: And the Edict we shall take notice of, made in favour of *Pallas*, will easily convince us, to what a wretched Servitude that Body was reduced; which tho' once too formidable to bear the Government of the First *Cæsar*, could now shamefully cringe to a Woman, and even to the most infamous Excrements of the Empire.

Thus, after *Rome* had groan'd under the Tyrannical Scepter of the lascivious *Messalina*,* she fell under that of *Agrippina*, who was neither less cruel, nor less covetous, nor much less intriguing perhaps. 'Tis true, there was this Difference between the two Empresses; that *Messalina* disgraced the Empire by abandoning herself to Prostitutions, out of a natural Proneness to Debaucheries of that sort; whereas *Agrippina* dealt her Favours to such only, as she imagined would be serviceable to her Designs. *Messalina* glory'd in her Shame; and *Agrippina* on the contrary cover'd her

**Xiphilin.*
in Ner.

her Lewdness under the Veil of an outward Modesty and Regularity. In a word, *Messalina* was debauch'd by Nature, and *Agrippina* by Policy; the latter distributing her Favours only to such as could serve her Ambition, and advance the Fortune of her Son, the grand Point to which she directed all her Thoughts and her Cares, tho' she was told before-hand, that they would certainly be repaid with the blackest Ingratitude: For that Princess having one day consulted a *Chaldean* touching the Fate of her Son, the Fortune-teller answer'd her, that he should be Emperor, but should put her to Death. The Evil Part of this Prediction counter-balanced, no doubt, the Good it promis'd; so that *Agrippina* had nothing to boast of in its Accomplishment: And yet her † Ambition did so byass her Mind from what was disagreeable, to that which seem'd to flatter her Vanity, that in the Transports of frantick Joy she (e) cry'd out, *Let my Son kill me, provided he reigns.*

† *Dio,*
† *Tacit.*
Annal. 14.
Sueton.

As soon as *Agrippina* thought her Authority pretty well establish'd, she began to shew her Taste of Revenge. * *Lollia Paulina* was the first Victim offer'd to it; and we have already remark'd, that nothing less than the Blood of her Rival could appease that Empress's Jealousy. *Claudius* happening one day to speak in Admiration of *Calpurnia's* Beauty, who was a Lady of a noble and illustrious Family, it cost her her Life; and any others, who *Agrippina* fear'd might pretend to the Emperor's Favour or Friendship, she made the Objects of her Hatred and Oppression.

* *Xiphilin.*
in Claud.

Her Avarice also put her upon the Commission of many horrid Cruelties. She stirr'd up Informers against those whose Estates she could not

(e) *Consulenti super Nerone, responderunt Chaldei, fore ut imperaret, matremque occide-* | *ret: atque illa: Occidat, inquit, dum imperet.*

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.

come at by wheedling. Let them be never so innocent, it was Crime enough to be rich; and there was no other way of saving their Lives, than by sacrificing their Estates to *Agrippina's* insatiable Covetousness. * *Statilius Taurus* made the Empress his implacable Enemy, for not offering such a Sacrifice. That Roman was Son to *Taurus*, who had the Honour to be twice Consul, and shew'd his Magnificence in the stately Theater he built at a vast Expence in *Augustus's* Reign. His Gardens were reckon'd the finest in all *Rome*; and he kept them in the most nice and exact Order. They had often been view'd with a longing Eye by *Agrippina*; who seeing no Overture to come at them fairly, resolv'd to get them by Calumny and Detraction, her ordinary Resource in such Cases.

The Court was made up of a Parcel of Mercenary Wretches, who would not hesitate at the blackest Crimes, provided they could raise their Fortunes, or gain the Protection of the Great ones thereby. And thus *Agrippina* was not long to seek for a Man who would undertake any thing she pleas'd. *Tarquitius Priscus* soon made her easy. That vile Officer had been *Taurus's* Lieutenant, when he govern'd *Africa* with the Title of *Proconsul*; and tho' he was Witness of the Virtue and Integrity with which *Taurus* comported himself in his Government, he did not scruple to turn Informer against him, and to charge him with Extorsion and Magick.

Taurus, conscious of his Innocence, was so astonish'd to find the very Man his Accuser, who could singly have justify'd him against any Accusation of that nature laid by a third Person, that not being able to endure so base a Treachery, he prevented the Judgment of the Senate by passionately depriving himself of his Life, which they would in all Probability have preserv'd:

ferv'd; For they were so well persuaded of the Injustice of this Accusation, that maugre *Agrippina's* great Credit and Interest, *Priscus* was degraded from his Office, and afterward shamefully expell'd the Senate-House. Neither was that the only Punishment he receiv'd as the Reward of his Perfidy; for being soon after * accused and convicted of Extorsion him-
 self, he was sentenced to undergo the Penalties * Tacit. Annal. 14. inflicted by the Laws upon that Crime; and People were the more rejoiced to see him suffer, because they well remember'd his false Accusation of the Proconsul *Taurus*.

Agrippina was sorely vex'd at this Misfortune's befalling a Man who had made himself a Calumniator merely out of Complaisance to her: But that which afterward happen'd to her Prime Favourite *Vitellius*, was ten times more grating. He was charged by *Junius Lupus*, with carrying his Views to the Throne itself, and even with a Design to seize the Empire by Force. *Claudius*, who took Fright at the least thing in the World, at first gave Ear to this heavy Accusation; but the Empress had so many Reasons not to suffer *Vitellius* to run any Risque, that she bestirr'd herself vigorously in his Favour. She first try'd what Intreaties would do with the Emperor, and at length made use of Threats to oblige him to protect the Accused. And she push'd them on to Success; for *Claudius* believ'd whatever they would have him believe. *Vitellius* was declared Innocent: *Junius* was sent into Exile, and had suffer'd a great deal more for his Accusation, if *Vitellius* had insisted upon it; but he contented himself with that Punishment.

Elate with such a Train of Successes, *Agrippina* resolv'd to carry her Point yet farther. In order to fix her Son *Domitius* the more firmly upon *Claudius*, she form'd the Design to get him adopt-

ted by that Emperor, tho' his Son *Britannicus* was a Prince of great Hopes. *Pallas* used his Interest to have this Adoption take place; and he need only speak the Word, to make it succeed. *Domitius* was adopted by *Claudius*: They gave him the Name of *Nero*; and the People, to authorize this Injustice, gave the Emperor a great many Thanks, for choosing an Assistant to him in the fatiguing Cares of the Government. They exhausted themselves in Encomiums upon *Nero*; and *Agrippina* was honour'd with the Title of *Augusta*.

Claudius soon rewarded *Pallas* for the Folly he had occasion'd him to committ; and this Piece of History is well worth the Hearing, because it shews the Stupidity of the Emperor, the Insolence of his Free-Men, and the Servitude of the Senate. A Decree was made against such Women, as prostituted themselves to Slaves. *Claudius* gave out, that *Pallas* was the Man who put him upon the Enacting of so wholesome a Law. *Boreas Soranus*, and all the Senate, thereupon advised, that as an Acknowledgment for such a considerable Service render'd to the Emperor and the State, *Pallas* should be desired to * accept of the Ornaments of a *Prætor*, to wear the Ring of the Order of Knights, and to receive a Present of 15,000 great Sesterces, amounting to above 50,000 Pounds Sterling. That honest Free-Man, or rather that scornful Valet, as † *Pliny* calls him, accepted of all the Honours that were offer'd him, but out of his great Generosity refused the Present of Money design'd him; and *Claudius* went and thank'd the Senate in his Name, for their kind Liberality; assuring them, that *Pallas* gratefully accepted the Privilege of wearing the Knights Ring, and of using the Ornaments of a *Prætor*; but as for the Money they offer'd him, he would have none of it, being resolv'd

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.

† *Lib.* 8.
Epist.

to keep his ancient Poverty. And a comfortable Poverty it was; for he was then reckon'd worth about a Million Sterling.

This remarkable Instance of *Pallas's* Self-Denial seem'd to merit new Favours. *Scipio* moved, that he might have Publick Thanks; for, being descended from the Kings of *Arcadia*, he forgot his Nobility and the Greatness of his Extraction, to sacrifice himself for the Good of the Republick, and to suffer himself to be rank'd among the Officers of the Court. And *Pallas*, to shew Posterity how disinterested he was, inserted in his Epitaph, that the Senate having offer'd him a considerable Sum by way of Present, he contented himself with having deserv'd it. I do not know which calls loudest for the Reader's Indignation; the Free-Man's Insolence, or the base Condescension of the Senate, thus reduced to the hard Necessity of giving a Valet, who deserv'd a Halter, (to borrow *Pliny's* Expression) Encomiums that would have been reckon'd too great and pompous for a *Scipio*, or a *Pompey*. But what can be too mean a Complaisance, for Magistrates who sacrifice their Duty and their Honour to their Fortune and their Ambition?

That of * *Agrippina* was not yet fully satisf-^{*Xiphilin-}
fy'd, either with the magnificent Titles she en-^{in Ner.}
joy'd, with the high Rank to which she was rais'd,
or with the considerable Advancement of her Son,
whom she had already brought so near the Throne.
All these serv'd, on the contrary, as delicious
Baits for her towering Pride. As she made her-
self a Goddess upon her Elevation to the Empire,
she was for giving some Idea of it to the Pub-
lick, and for that end ascended the *Capitol* in a
magnificent Chariot; a Privilege till then reserv'd
to the Priests and things Sacred. Where-ever
she went, she arrogated to herself the highest
Honours. She flaunted it to the Publick Assem-
blies,

blies, to the Temples, and the Walks, in a splendid glittering Coach, rattling thro' the Streets like a Clap of Thunder, and displaying the utmost Magnificence in her Dress. She generally wore Cloth of Gold, cover'd with Jewels, which gave a wonderful Addition to the Lustre of her Beauty. Never did a more haughty Tyranny shew itself.

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.
cap. 37.

Neither was *Rome* the only Place where she affected this grand Parade and Authority; but to the end that Foreign Kings and People might have an advantageous Opinion of her Power, she sent a Colony, and gave her Name to a City of the *Ubi*; and appear'd one day upon a Scaffold, sitting between the *Roman* Eagles and Standards, where she * receiv'd the Homage and Submission of *Cataraëtus*, General of the Forces of *Great Britain*, who came attended by his Wife and Brethren, to thank her for his Liberty. Lastly, to shew that she did not content herself with Pageantry and Outside only, but had a true Taste of Power and Substance withall, she oppos'd the Interest of the Emperor's Free-Men in the Affair of the *Jews* against the *Samaritans*: And tho' *Claudius* had given Judgment in favour of the latter, *Agrippina* bestir'd herself for King *Agrippa*, who sided with the *Jews*, till she prevail'd with him to reverse it, and declare for the *Jews*; to give an Instance of her Power and great Credit.

This Ascendant which *Agrippina* had gain'd over *Claudius*, and the absolute Power of which she gave such glaring Proofs, made the whole Empire so ring of her Authority, that all People strove to out-do each other in their Homage and fawning Submission. The Greatest Men in *Rome* and in the Provinces paid their Court to her; and made her the choicest and most magnificent Presents in Return for her Protection: Among which,

which, a * Nightingale all white, that coſt a great deal of Money, and a † Thrush that ſpoke as diſtinctly as a Man, the like whereof had never been known, were reckon'd not the leaſt Curious.

* *Plinius, Hiſt. Nat. l. 10. c. 29.*
† *Ibid. cap. 252.*

Claudius, who did not know the Extent of *Agrippina's* Capacity, gave Encouragement to all her Deſigns, by his Indolence and blind Approbation of whatever that Princeſs propoſed, without conſidering that he acted contrary to his own Intereſt; and *Agrippina* had ſo great a Confidence in the Emperor's Stupidity, that ſhe could not deviſe any thing, the Succeſs whereof ſhe doubted. She procured her Son the *Toga virilis* before his Time. She made *Claudius* grant him the Privilege of demanding the Conſulate in the Twentieth Year of his Age, and of exerciſing the Proconſular Authority when out of Town. She cauſ'd Largeſſes to be diſtributed, in her Son's Name, among the Soldiers and People, to leſſen, by thoſe artificial means, their Affection for *Britannicus*, and beſpeak their Favour for *Nero*. Laſtly, ſhe got him declared Prince of the Roman Youth; and to the end that the Pomp of his Dreſs might be answerable to his Titles, when the Ceremony of the Games was perform'd in the *Circus*, *Nero* appear'd richly habited in a Triumphal Robe, and *Britannicus* on the other hand plainly dreſs'd in his (f) *Pratexta*: An in-

(f) The *Pratexta* was a Robe worne by Senators Sons till the Age of Seventeen, when they took the *Toga virilis*, or Man's Robe. The *Pratexta* was likewise call'd *Toga puerilis*. It had a Purple Border; and with this Robe they wore a ſort of Gold Box in the Shape of a Heart, which hung upon the Breſt, in which they kept ſeveral things they believ'd to be good againſt

Envy. Theſe young Gentlemen were call'd *Pratextati*, from the Name of their Robe; but that Surname was given as a Privilege and Honour to young *Papirius*, for ſhewing very early a conſummate Prudence upon an Occaſion that deſerves to be known. The Senators were allow'd to carry their Sons to the Senate-Houſe, to inſtruct them ſometimes in the Affairs and Intereſts of the
jurious

jurious Distinction, which inspired into many of the Officers Breasts a great Compassion for the Emperor's Son, which however cost them dear; for there was not a Man of them who shew'd himself in the least inclined to *Britannicus*, but was dismiss'd the Service, and his Post conferr'd upon somebody of *Agrippina's* recommending. *Geta* and *Crispinus*, Captains of the Guard, were the two first who suffer'd for shewing their Esteem of that poor Prince. They were cashier'd, and their two Companies incorporated into one, and given to *Burrhus*, * a good Officer it must be confess'd, but one that knew the Hand from which the Present came, and the Return he was obliged to make.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.
cap. 42.

Thus did *Agrippina* lay hold of every Opportunity that offer'd, to ingratiate her Son with the Legions and the People: But none proved half so favourable, as that which a Famine at *Rome* occasion'd. † The Empress, to make the Cala-

† *Zonar.*
Tacit.

Annal. 12. Republick. *Papirius* therefore took his Son with him one day, when some Business of Importance was to be debated. No sooner was young *Papirius* return'd home, but his Mother was interrogating him about what pass'd in the Senate; but could get nothing out of him. His obstinate Silence heighten'd her Curiosity to that degree, that she resolv'd to know it; and press'd him so long, that at last to get rid of her, he told her a Falshood, and said they had been deliberating whether it was most conducive to the Publick Good for a Woman to have two Husbands, or for a Man to have two Wives; and that it was to be decided the next day. *Papirius's* Mother believ'd her Son's ingenious Lye; and sending away immediate-

ly for the principal Senators Ladies, told them what the Senate was about. They all took the Alarm; and repairing the next day to the Senate-House, advis'd the Senators to be cautious what they did; for that seeing many a Husband had his Hands full enough of One Wife, it would not be prudent to oblige him to take Two. The Senators not knowing what they meant, desired they would explain this Riddle to them: Which when they had done, the Senators laugh'd at their Ladies Credulity, and admir'd *Papirius* for his Wit, who rather than reveal the Secrets of the Senate, chose to put this pleasant Trick upon his Mother; and therefore they made a solemn Decree to give him the Surname of *Prætextatus*.

mity

mity seem greater than in reality it was, commanded her Emissaries to raise a sort of Tumult; on purpose to intimidate the Emperor, who being then indisposed, had it not in his Power to supply the pressing Necessities of the State. The People flock'd together, and made a dismal Outcry for Bread; and the Noise of this Commotion reach'd the Prince's Ears. *Claudius*, affrighted at their tumultuous Din, which was represented to him as exceeding dangerous and seditious, declared by an Edict, which *Agrippina* dictated, that they need only apply themselves to *Nero*, who was very capable of governing; for, that being hinder'd by Sickness from providing for the Necessities of the Publick, he had eas'd himself of that Trouble, and cast it upon *Agrippina's* Son.

Nero proved an apt Scholar in learning the Lessons mark'd out for him by his Mother. He caus'd a great Quantity of Corn, which he came by at an easy rate, to be distributed among the People; and went afterward to the *Capitol*, attended by the Senators, to put up Prayers for the Emperor's Recovery; which was undoubtedly the farthest from his Wishes of any thing in the World. *Narcissus* was very sensible, that this was one of *Agrippina's* Grimaces. He had sounded that Princess to the bottom, knew the Drift of her deepest Designs, and had more than once given the Clew of them to the Emperor; for, being his Secretary, he had frequent Opportunities of talking to him in private about these Matters. Hence *Agrippina* bore a mortal Grudge to that Free-Man, whom she constantly found in her way, and always intractable: But not daring openly to attack him, because she fear'd sinking under such an Enterprize, considering the Interest *Narcissus* appear'd to have with the Emperor in the Death of *Messalina*, she began to think of
Clandestine

Clandestine ways to effect his Ruin. And the better to succeed herein, without giving the least ground of Jealousy, she contented herself with whispering things secretly to his Prejudice, when the Emperor and she were alone together; and so laying the Foundation of his Ruin, by instilling a bad Opinion of him into *Claudius* by degrees: To effect which, she took every Opportunity that offer'd, to render his Actions suspicious, and incense the Emperor against him.

* *Dio,*
lib. 60.
Tacit.
Annal. 12.
Sueton.
in Claud.

She gladly embraced that which presented on Occasion of a Mock Sea-Fight upon the *Lacus Fucinus*, now call'd the Lake *di Celano*. *Claudius* caus'd a hundred Gallies to be equipt for this Representation. The Banks of the Lake, and the adjacent Mountains were cover'd with People, who came from *Rome* and other Towns to see the Sight. * The Emperor was cloath'd in his Coat of Arms, and seated on a Throne erected upon an Eminence; and *Agrippina* appear'd very magnificently dress'd, on another Throne close by the Emperor's. This Combat was perform'd without any Disorder; but the same cannot be said of that which *Claudius* afterward desired to see acted by Men on Foot. Bridges were made upon the Lake for this purpose; and a particular Place was fitted for the Emperor to give his Court a magnificent Regale after the Diversion. This happen'd to be just at the Mouth of the Lake, where the Water used to discharge itself; and so the Diversion they promis'd themselves was changed into the saddest Disaster: For a Bank being cut, to let the Water pass into a Canal made expressly to receive it, it rush'd out with such a Weight and Impetuosity, as carry'd all before it; whereby many Persons were drown'd: And a general Fright prevailing, those next the Water, to avoid the Danger, ran over the Persons next them, and these over others again; and

and all screaming out, their Cries struck Terror far and wide. A greater Confusion was hardly ever known.

Claudius, being naturally timorous, was dismally frighten'd; and *Agrippina* observing it, took that favourable Opportunity to do *Narcissus's* Business. She charged all the Blame of the Accident at his Door, because he had the Oversight of that Work. She told the Emperor, they were indebted to his Free-Man *Narcissus* for this Disaster, who had out of his sordid Avarice apply'd the Money to his own Use, which was given for their Sports; that notwithstanding his Pretensions to Fidelity and the Service of his Prince, he did nothing but fleece the People; that the Provinces groan'd under his Oppression; and that his immense Riches were yet unsatisfactory to his greedy Temper.

Narcissus defended himself with a great deal of Courage. He accused *Agrippina* with an intolerable Pride, and a boundless Ambition. He assured the Emperor, that the ground of her Hatred to him, was not because he was Rich, but because he would not give into her wicked Designs, and she found him too faithful to his Master. *Narcissus* was certainly in the right; and had Reason to believe, that was the Cause of her Distaste. Nor did he scruple to explain himself thereupon, one day, when being in Company with several of his particular Friends, and speaking his Mind freely, he declared to them, that he expected nothing but Death, whether *Britannicus* or *Nero* succeeded *Claudius*. * *Britannicus*, he said, * *Tac. t.* would not let him live, out of Revenge for his *Annal. 12.* Mother *Messalina*; and *Nero* would sacrifice him *cap 6.* to the Fury of his Mother *Agrippina*. But he added, that whatever befell him, he thought the Obligations he had to the Emperor did not allow him to betray his Interests; that this was
what

what had induced him to put *Messalina* to Death, who dishonour'd herself and his Master by her abominable Prostitutions; and that he had the same Reason to acquaint *Claudius* with *Agrippina's* base Designs, who was none of the chastest of Women. He concluded, that it had not been half so dangerous to the Emperor for *Messalina* to have lived; because as she minded nothing but her Pleasures, she never had any Thought of taking away the Emperor's Life; whereas *Agrippina*, who had already destroy'd all the Imperial Race, was aiming at no less than to secure the Throne to her Posterity.

Claudius had, for his part, reflected upon these things himself. He had been inform'd, that *Agrippina* did not behave with all the Prudence that was expected from her. He had heard of some of her Amours, and was convinced of her towering Projects. One day therefore, when his Wine had got the better of him, he inconsiderately declared, that he bore with his Wives Pranks for a Time, but knew how to come even with them at last. These Words were told to *Agrippina*, who apprehending that she should meet with *Messalina's* Fate, resolv'd to dispatch her Husband *Claudius*. But before she struck this great Blow, she thought it advisable to * rid herself of *Domitia Lepida*, *Nero's* Aunt, whom she accused of Magick, and of attempting to make away with the Emperor's Wife by Enchantment; adding, that her Ill-Will to the State was plainly seen in the Revolt of her Slaves in *Calabria*.

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.

Narcissus openly espoused *Domitia's* Interest, and justify'd her against all the pretended Crimes laid to her Charge. Nevertheless, *Agrippina's* Authority proved more than a Match for *Narcissus's* Credit; and *Domitia* was condemn'd to lose her Life. The Interest which the Empress had in that Lady's Death, appear'd soon after; for *Domitia*

mitia having a plentiful Estate, was very liberal, it seems, to her Nephew *Nero*, who in Return shew'd a great Affection for his Aunt, at the same time that he shunn'd his Mother's Sight, on account of the Austerity with which she treated him: Which put *Agrippina* out of Humour with *Domitia*, of whom she was also jealous, because she was as handsome, as well born, and as immodest as herself.

Mean time, the Emperor knew that *Domitia* was unjustly condemn'd, and that her Ruin was owing to the Artifices of his Wife *Agrippina*. He consider'd seriously of the Empress's Conduct, recollected all that *Narcissus* had told him, and made his Reflexions upon it; which gave him such an Inquietude, that he resolv'd to go to (g) *Sinuessa*, to alleviate his Cares. But instead of relieving his anxious Thoughts, he there met with his End. * *Agrippina* took that Opportunity to poison him, because there could not be so many Witnesses of her Crime at *Sinuessa*, as there would have been at *Rome*. † She employ'd † Sueton. in Claud. the famous *Locusta*, and order'd her to make up a good nimble Dose. It was ‖ administer'd in a ‖ Dio, Xiphilin. in Claud. Ragoo of Mushrooms, which *Claudius* mightily admired; but because it work'd but slowly, and the Emperor vomiting, they were afraid it would lose its Effect, ‡ *Xenophon*, a mercenary Physician, ‡ Aurel. Vict. Excerpt. that would do any thing *Agrippina* bid him, pretending to help *Claudius* to vomit, tickled his Throat with a Feather dipt in a subtil, searching Poison; upon which, in a few Moments time, he gave up the Ghost.

(g) *Sinuessa* was a City of *Latium*, whose Baths were in great Reputation for recovering Persons who had been disorder'd in their Senses, and for making barren Women prolifick. The Air of this Place also was very fine, and the Waters equally good. *Sinuessane aquae sterilitatem foeminarum, & virorum insaniam abolere produntur*; says *Pliny*. It is now a Town call'd *Rocca di Mondragone*.

Agrippina

Agrippina made it her Business to conceal the Emperor's Death, to give herself Time to dispose Matters in her Son's Favour. She summon'd the Senate and Consuls to put up Vows for his Majesty's Recovery: She cover'd him over, as if it were to keep him warm; and to colour her Design the better, she sent for the Comedians, and told them the Emperor desired them to divert him. Lastly, to prevent any one's telling *Britannicus* and *Octavia* of their Father's Death, she kept them mew'd up in a Chamber, amusing them with feign'd Careless, and affecting the Tenderness of a Mother to them.

Nevertheless, the Report of *Claudius's* Death was soon spread in the City of *Rome*. *Nero*, accompany'd by *Burrhus*, shew'd himself to the Legions; he made them large Promises; and they hearing nothing of *Britannicus*, proclaim'd *Agrippina's* Son their Emperor. This precipitate Election was immediately confirm'd by a Decree of the Senate, who soon after made another, to rank *Claudius* among the Gods; and *Nero*, well knowing how that poor Prince lost his Life by eating of Mushrooms, always afterward call'd Mushrooms the * Food of the Gods.

* *Sueton.*
in Ner.
cap. 33.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 13.
cap. 1.

Agrippina seeing now the Accomplishment of her Desires, turn'd all her Thoughts to the Satisfaction of her Revenge. She fasten'd like a Mastiff upon those who had thwarted her Intentions, and those from whom she believ'd she had any thing to fear. † *Junius Silanus* was the first Victim offer'd up to her Hatred and Revenge. That Prince, who was call'd by *Caligula* the Golden Sheep, on account of his Good-Nature and Sweetness of Temper, was Great-Grand-Son to *Augustus*; and govern'd *Asia* in the quality of Proconsul. *Agrippina* stood in Awe of him, as well for his high Birth, as for the Affection of the People of *Rome* toward him, who openly declared that he must be

be promoted to the Empire ; for that he deserv'd it, and was more capable of governing, than *Nero*, a raw, unexperienced young Man, who had made his way to the Throne thro' a Scene of horrid Villany. There was another Reason also for *Agrippina* to rid herself of *Silanus* ; to wit, her Fear lest he should one day revenge the Death of his Brother *Lucius Silanus*, which she procured in the Manner above related. These were the Proconsul's Crimes. *Agrippina* got him poison'd, and so eas'd herself of all her Apprehensions.

Narcissus was the second Person proscribed. *Agrippina* bore him a mortal Grudge, because she had always found his Fidelity Proof against her Promises and her Threatnings : A rare Vertue in an Age when Perfidy and Treason were chiefly rewarded. *Claudius* therefore was no sooner dead, but *Narcissus* was seiz'd and closely confined in Prison, and made to languish in such Misery, as induced him to lay violent Hands on himself, tho' *Nero* would willingly have saved him. A memorable and instructive Instance of the Vicissitude of human Affairs ; Fortune smiling on us for a while, only to humble us the more cruelly hereafter : Or rather, a plain but terrible Lesson for those merciless Blood-suckers, who devour the People, and squeeze all their Substance out of them by Extorsion, till it pleases God, in his just Judgment, to permitt them to return to their pristine Indigence and Poverty. *Narcissus*, to speak Truth, did not deserve a better Fate ; for it * was just to see the Man dying of Want and Misery, who had heap'd up prodigious Wealth at the Expence of the Universe, and made himself richer, by Oppression and Rapine, than ever † was *Crassus*, or the Kings of *Persia*.

* *Dio,*
lib. 60.
Sueton.
in Claud.

† *Juvenal.*
Sat. 14.

Agrippina had promis'd several other Victims to her Resentment ; but *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who

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did

did not always approve her Actions, opposed such violent Measures. Being *Nero's* Governors, they had an equal Influence over him; but tho' their Manners and Characters were different, *Burrhus* being more severe, and *Seneca* more gentle, yet they agreed mightily well, and acted in Concert to make the Emperor a vertuous Prince, and to put a Curb upon his Mother's Ambition. That Princess's Favourite Minister was *Pallas*, in whom she confided all her Affairs; and this Free-Man, who had abused the absolute Power he enjoy'd during *Claudius's* Reign, was willing to govern under *Nero* also: But the Emperor was not of a Temper to be ruled by a Free-man grown insupportable, thro' an arrogant Severity by no means agreeable to *Nero's* Taste. Beside, *Burrhus* and *Seneca* did not care he should be guided by any body's Lights but their own: They look'd upon the Instructions which other Persons gave him, as Invasions of their Property; and for this Cause they ruin'd *Pallas* in the Opinion of their Master, and resolv'd to check *Agrippina's* Pride, by taking all Opportunities to mortify her, who under Cover of her Son's Name govern'd the Empire according to her Pleasure.

The first that presented, was the Audience *Nero* gave to the Ambassadors of *Armenia*. Those Gentlemen came to *Rome* upon some Affair of their Nation; and the Emperor had appointed them a certain Day for Admittance. The Time being
** Xipbilin. come, * Nero* seated himself upon a Throne to
in Ner. hear them; and *Agrippina* attributing her Son's Advancement to herself, thought she had a Right to govern, and demanded to sit by the Emperor upon the Throne. Now it would certainly have been a shameful and unheard-of Sight, for a Woman to preside in an Action of that State and Magnificence; and the Ambassadors, who had conceiv'd prodigious Ideas of the Majesty and
Grandeur

Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, seeing the base Servitude of its People, and their blind Dependence on the Will of a Woman, whose immoderate Ambition gave Laws to the whole Earth, must of necessity very much abate the high Opinion they had entertain'd, and take up Notions of the *Romans* quite different from what they were before so full of. *Nero* probably made these Reflexions himself; and tho' he had a very great Respect for his Mother at that time, yet he could not forbear shewing his Dislike of this Innovation. However, *Agrippina* advanced without any one's speaking a Word, till * *Seneca*, * Tacit. Annal. 13i considering the Blemish her Pride was going to cast upon the Empire, advis'd *Nero* to come down from the Throne, as if he intended to receive his Mother, and do her Honour. The Emperor did so; and a great many Compliments and Civilities pass'd, till some Excuse was found to defer the Audience till another time.

This Enterprize of *Agrippina* convinced *Burrhus* and *Seneca* of her Design to govern the Empire, and to have the sole Direction of Affairs. They enter'd into a stricter League therefore against her, and concerted Measures to frustrate her ambitious Views: But the Measures they took, were neither right, nor prudent. † They con- † Dio, lib. 61. nived at *Nero's* Passion for *Acte*, who had been a Slave, for the sake of opposing her Interest to the haughty Government of the Empress; and by that base Compliance introduced a great deal of Disorder. For *Nero* taking a Fancy to marry this *Acte*, with whom he was desperately enamour'd, had like to have subverted all the Laws of his Country.

Agrippina soon perceiv'd that her Influence with the Emperor dwindled in proportion as *Acte's* advanced; and not able to endure her Power should be rival'd by a miserable Concubine, she be-

* *Sueton.*
in Ner.

† *Tacit.*
Annal.
Dio, l. 61.

gan to rail against her Son in the bitterest Terms. They had not, however, the Effect she promis'd herself; for instead of alienating the Prince's Mind from the Object of his Love, they did but inflame it the more; and *Agrippina* growing more jealous, as *Acte* grew more powerful, that Empress was so enraged against her Son, that at length *Nero* was tired with her importunate Reprimands, and lost the Respect he had formerly paid her. Moreover, to render her odious to the Multitude, he * gave out that he would abdicate the Empire, and retire to *Rhodes*, where he said he should be out of the Hearing of his Mother's Outcries and Complaints. This † Difference between *Nero* and *Agrippina* afforded good Diversion at *Rome* more than once; for in the Transports of their Fury, they would now and then blab Truths which soon reach'd the Ears of the Publick.

Nevertheless, the Emperor consider'd that he had several Reasons to induce him to carry fair with his Mother. He feign'd a sort of Indifference for *Acte*; and when he had a mind to make her a Present, he convey'd it to her by the Hands of his Favourite *Serenus*. *Agrippina*, whose Eyes were continually upon the Conduct of her Son, took this Feint of *Nero* to be either Repentance of his Crime, or an Effect of some Distaste; and therefore, to cure him entirely of his Passion for *Acte*, she not only caress'd him after an extraordinary manner, but carry'd her Complaisance a great deal too far. Nay she forgot for a while her wonted Pride, and was the forwardest in censuring her own past Conduct. She condemn'd the Violence of her Passions; and, to shew her Son how desirous she was to live in a perfect Harmony with him, she offer'd to do him what Service she could in his Pleasures and Intrigues. But the Emperor, putting very little Confidence
in

in his Mother, was always upon his Guard against her fair Promises, wherein he knew there was a great Mixture of Art; so that in spite of all the Caution he could use, he happen'd to drop an Expression that savour'd of Distrust; and *Agrippina*, whose Apprehension was quick enough, catching it, could not help declaring her Concern for it. This revived their old Quarrels; and thus their Misunderstanding grew wider than ever.

Agrippina was the first that publicly shew'd it. *Nero* having one day sent her the richest and most valuable Effects he could find in the Palace; with the Habits, Jewels, and precious Stones of the former Empreses; she look'd upon his Liberality as a downright Affront, and answer'd the Messengers with an Air of Pride and Contempt, that she did not prink herself up at that rate; that her Son did not make her any Present in sending her those things; for that at most he * did but give back a Part of what he * *Tacit. Annal. 13.* had receiv'd from her; and that thus he was for dividing with her, after she had given him the Whole. These Words were scraped together, and carry'd to *Nero* by Persons who put them in a worse Dress than they were deliver'd. *Nero* was prodigiously enraged at them; and to revenge himself, without falling foul on his Mother, he dismiss'd *Pallas* from his Office of High Treasurer.

The Disgrace of that Free-Man, with whom *Agrippina* was in the closest and the most scandalous Alliance, fill'd the Measure of the Empress's Wrath. She now regarded no Measures, nor Management. *Rome* was fill'd with the Noise of her Rage and Fury, which she carry'd to the very Palace, and threaten'd *Nero* to make Prince *Britannicus* Emperor; to conduct him to the Armies, and shew the Legions *Claudius's* Lawful

Successor; and to expose to the whole Empire the many Criminal Methods used to advance her Husband's Adoptive Son to the Throne, in prejudice to the true Heir; being sure, she said, that the Troops would hearken to the Daughter of *Germanicus*, sooner than to *Burrhus* that Scoundrel, or to *Seneca* that mercenary Fellow, that infamous Exile, who thus pretended to usurp the Government. These Menaces were succeeded by Volleys of the most injurious Reproaches her Fury could dictate; after which, she began to invoke the Divine *Claudius*, and the *Manes* of *Silanus*; and at last abandoning herself entirely to her Passion, she flew at her Son, and had like to have beat him.

Nero never was in so great Perplexity in his Life. He knew his Mother to be a Woman capable of carrying things to the last Extremity, and was therefore thunder-struck with her terrible Menaces. He took particular Notice of what she had said in relation to *Britannicus*, who was now of Age to make himself formidable, and to know the Right he had to the Empire, which, to speak the Truth, he was robb'd of. And in short, that young * Prince gave him a plain Proof of his Sentiments; for being one day at an Assembly for Diversion, they were to choose a King who should command the rest of the Company to do what he pleas'd; and it falling to *Nero's* Lot to be King, he commanded *Britannicus* to sing a Song, with design to expose him. The Prince readily obey'd, and very *à propos* sung one, wherein he told them they had traiterously deprived him of his Father's Throne. His Song, which seem'd as if contrived on purpose, was very moving to all that heard it, and dash'd *Nero* to such a degree, that not doubting but *Britannicus* was capable of making proper Reflexions, he

* Tacit.

Annal. 13.

cap. 15.

he resolv'd to rid himself of that dangerous Competitor.

But * *Nero* was ridiculously jealous of *Britannicus* for another Reason equally weak and unjust; namely, because he sung well; and *Nero*, who would fain have pass'd for the finest Singer in the World, could not bear to be excell'd by *Britannicus*: So that this poor Prince, being both fear'd and hated by the Emperor, was removed by a Dose of Poison. * *Sueton.*
in Ner.

Agrippina was never suspected of being concern'd in his Death. Her Sorrow and Surprise to see his sudden Change, justify'd her, on the contrary, to all the World: And indeed, her Apprehension was just; for in losing *Britannicus*, she lost her last Resort, the only Prop that could uphold her Power already grown very decrepit, and the only Shelter she could fly to, in Stormy Seasons.

Destitute of this Support, she grew wondrously civil to her Friends, and began to hold private Caballs with them. She made abundance of Protestations of her Good-Will to the Centurions and other Officers of the Army, and in short to every Person invested with any Authority, as if she had resolv'd to form a Party, and give herself some Weight with *Nero*: But that Prince, who was so far from paying her the Respect he formerly did, that he now fail'd even in point of natural Duty and Affection, saw thro' her Designs; and to render them abortive, he dismiss'd the Guards till then allow'd her as Mother and Wife to Emperors; he oblig'd her to live in *Antonia's* House, where he visited her but very seldom, and never without a great Attendance; and lastly, to carry his Cruelty yet farther, he † made her quit *Rome*, and gave her † *Sueton.*
a sorry House to live in without the Town; *in Ner.*
cap. 34.
whither he sent a Pack of vile Wretches to

insult and abuse her, after the most brutish and scandalous manner.

* *Dio,*
lib. 60.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 13.

From this Moment, *Agrippina* found the Scene was changed. * All her Grandeur was sunk; and her Credit and Authority vanish'd. That Idol, to which all the World had bow'd the Knee, now receiv'd no more Homage, nor Incense. Not so much as the Vestiges of her Dignity, nor the least Shadow of that extravagant Power she had so haughtily exercised, now remain'd; and that Empress, upon whom the whole World had press'd, to render the Homage of their profoundest Regards, † now saw herself so entirely abandon'd, that of all the Crowd of Courtiers who had just before been adoring her Fortune, not a Soul appear'd, except a few Women, who visited her perhaps not so much out of Friendship and to comfort her under her Misfortunes, as to hear her Complaints, and with mischievous Intent to observe all her Motions, and keep a Register of her Words, on purpose to give *Nero* an Account of them. Thus do Men turn about with Fortune; insomuch that it is not uncommon to see Persons engage against us, who have made us the loudest Protestations of their Friendship; as *Agrippina* found by woful Experience: For *Silana*, who had been her particular Friend, was one of the forwardest in her Prosecution, and induced *Paris* to charge her with a Design to invade the Empire. It is true, *Silana* had her Reasons not to spare *Agrippina*; but she proved unfortunate in her Revenge.

Silana was a Lady of an illustrious Birth; an exquisite Beauty, help'd however with Study and Affectation; and a very great Fortune. She struck an intimate Friendship with *Agrippina*, which the Empress cultivated with a good deal of Care, because as she had a fine Estate, and no Children, she had Expectation of being her Heir.

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In this ſelfiſh View, ſhe gave *Silana* frequent Marks of her Favour and Eſteem; tho' we need not doubt ſhe lov'd her Eſtate better than her Perſon: For *Sextus Africanus*, a Roman Knight, having reſolv'd to marry that Lady; *Agrippina*, who ſaw her Hopes and her Avarice diſappointed in that Match, left no Stone unturn'd to prevail with *Africanus* to break it off; ſometimes by giving him a very injurious Character of *Silana*, and even ſuggeſting things incompatible with her Vertue; at other times, by telling him it was ridiculous, not to ſay monſtrous, for a young Gentleman, as he was, to think of marrying a Lady paſt the Age of Pleaſures, the Wrinkles in whoſe Forehead were a very plain Indication of her Years. In a word, ſhe follow'd him ſo cloſe, that ſhe forced him to alter the favourable Sentiments he had of *Silana*.

Silana was not to ſeek for the Author of *Africanus*'s Indifference. She was fill'd with the bittereſt Reſentment of ſuch Uſage at the Hands of her Friend, and took the Opportunity of *Agrippina*'s Diſgrace to ſatiſfy her Revenge. To carry on this Deſign with as little Danger as poſſible, ſhe employ'd two of her Confidants, who perſuaded *Paris* the Comedian to turn Informer againſt the Empreſs. *Paris* could hardly miſs of acting well a Part ſo agreeable to his Profeſſion. He went to *Nero* one Night when he was carouzing, and approaching him with a ſorrowful Countenance to denote the Greatneſs of the Danger he came to warn him againſt, he told him ſighing, that he had diſcover'd the moſt dangerous Conſpiracy that could poſſibly be form'd againſt him, his own Mother being at the Head of it; who, not able to ſee any body reign but herſelf, had enter'd into Engagements with *Rubellius Plautus*, intending to advance him to the Empire, and to recover the Government by vertue of that Marriage:
And

And that it was for no other Reason but to push this Stroke of her Ambition to Success, that she chose to make that *Roman* her Husband; the Lustre of whose Birth, he being Great Grand-Son to *Augustus*, could not in her Opinion fail of securing to him a great many Friends.

This News did so startle *Nero*, that he was thinking at first to put both his Mother and *Plautus* to Death: But *Burrhus*, whose Counsels were always mighty sedate, prevented the Execution of that Thought. He represented to the Emperor, that every Criminal had a Right to be heard in his Defence, much more a Mother: That there was but one Evidence against *Agrippina*; and he charged her with a Crime almost incredible: That this Accusation, coming from the Mouth of a Scoundrel, deserv'd very little Credit: But that were it never so just, the World would be apt to censure so violent a Resolution taken in the Dark, and over a Glass of Wine. He added, that he did not pretend to justify *Agrippina*; but on the contrary was for having the Matter of her Charge sifted to the bottom; and if she was found Guilty, he himself would be her Judge and Executioner.

* *Tacit.*
Annual. 13.

Nero gave into *Burrhus*'s Reasons, and sent him and *Seneca*, and several Free-Men, to his Mother the next Morning, to hear what she had to say in her Defence. * *Burrhus* interrogated the Empress concerning the Crime laid to her Charge; and he did it with a menacing Air, enough to have frightened any Woman but herself: But *Agrippina* lost neither her Pride nor her Courage upon this Occasion. She answer'd *Burrhus* with a sort of Contempt and Disdain, That it was not surprizing that *Silana*, who never had a Son or Daughter, should be ignorant of the Tenderness of Mothers toward their Children; but that she would make her to know, that it was not

not so easy for a Mother to change Children, as for a Harlot to change Gallants and Adulterers: That surely her Enemies, by their producing the infamous *Atimetus* and the Comedian *Paris* as Evidence against her, had a mind to act a Dramatick Piece: That an Accusation form'd by such Fellows as these, ought to meet with no manner of Credit: That she challenged her Enemies to bring the single Evidence of any reputable Person, to convict her of making Interest with the Cohorts in the City, or of founding the Fidelity of the Provinces, or of tampering with the Slaves and Free-Men, to excite an Insurrection against her Son. Moreover, she demonstrated to them, that the Design they accused her of, was not consistent with her own Interest; because, she said, if *Britannicus* had been Emperor, she might have flatter'd herself with living free from Danger; but that she could not hope this, if *Plautus* or any other Person had the Sovereign Authority, because in that case Enemies would not be wanting to accuse her of Crimes, which none but a Son would pardon in a Mother.

To hear the Empress justify herself in this manner, affected her Examinants with the tenderest Compassion. They endeavour'd to calm her ruffled Spirit; but she demanded that they would permitt her to speak to her Son. When she appear'd before him, she did not pretend to vindicate herself, as thinking it beneath her to take notice of the vile Calumnies rais'd against her; neither did she open her Mouth of all that she had done for the Emperor her Son, because she would not seem to reproach him: But she peremptorily demanded of *Nero* at once, that her Accusers might be punish'd for their Malice, and her Friends rewarded for their Fidelity: Both which were granted her. *Silana* was banish'd; *Atimetus* was put to Death; and the Intendance
of

of Provisions, the Government of *Egypt*, and other considerable Employments were conferr'd upon Creatures of *Agrippina*. Thus do the Tempests rais'd by our Malice to fall upon the Heads of our Enemies, very frequently burst over our own.

Agrippina having turn'd the Artifice her Enemies had us'd for her Destruction, to the Re-establishment of her Power, she sacrific'd every thing to its Preservation; insomuch that the Rules of Modesty forbid the Relation of the Means she employ'd for this purpose. As she saw her Interest in the Scale with that of *Sabina Poppaea*, of whom *Nero* then began to be very much enamour'd, she oppos'd all her Charms to those of that Lady; for she knew her Son was very susceptible of Love, and that he had no Regard to any thing, when his Pleasures were concern'd: And thus she form'd the brutish Design of producing such Sentiments in the Heart of her Son, as force Nature to recoil; flattering herself she should be able to wear off *Nero's* Affection for *Poppaea*, by dint of infamous Caressees, and scandalous and immodest Behaviour. * Sometimes she would go to him when he was drinking and heated with Wine, and put herself in a Posture the most likely to provoke him to Sin; at other times she affect'd to display her Charms before him, with as little Reserve, as she would have done before a Gallant she was in Love with. If she went in a Litter with him, she † us'd Criminal Caressees to receive agreeable Returns; and too often it appear'd, that *Agrippina's* incestuous Flames had their detestable Effect upon *Nero*.

Mean time, *Agrippina* did not reap all the Satisfaction she promis'd herself from her Crime; for *Nero* was soon tired of her, and abandon'd himself entirely to his Passion for *Poppaea*, while the Empress was forced to undergo the cruellest Tortures of Jealousy. *Poppaea*, for her part, was
not

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 14.
cap. 2.

† *Sueton.*
in Ner.
cap. 28.
Aur. Vict.
Excerpt.
in D. Ner.

not idle; but greedily snatch'd the Opportunity of the Emperor's favourable Disposition toward her. She * was continually setting him against his Mother, and telling him *Agrippina* could not bear any Dominion but her own; that every Power superior to hers was insupportable; and that he ought to guard well against an immoderate Ambition, which would stick at nothing to remove any Obstacle to its Views. *Nero*, easily taking Distaste at his Mother, and believing what *Poppæa* said to be true, resolv'd to put her to Death who had given him both his Life and his Empire, and to get rid of a Person he now look'd upon as a declared Enemy to his Pleasures, and the most formidable Hindrance to his Felicity.

He had long meditated this Design, and had now nothing to do but to remove the Suspicion of it from himself. It was upon this account, that he did not approve of any violent Method, because he judg'd that would make too much Noise; and therefore he † attempted several times to poison his Mother, and particularly || at an Entertainment given for that purpose by *Otho* to *Nero* and *Agrippina*, wherein Magnificence, and Gallantry, and Good-Chear reign'd triumphantly, to remove, by those feign'd Demonstrations of Friendship and Respect, all ground of Distrust in *Agrippina*. But his Endeavours of this kind were thrown away; the Empress being incessantly upon her Guard against *Nero's* Ambuscades, and keeping Antidotes and Remedies continually by her, which she took as often as she found herself disorder'd, or suspected she had any thing to fear; so that *Nero's* Disappointments made him at last resolve to get rid of her at any rate.

'Tis reported that ‡ *Seneca* did not dissuade him from so cruel and unnatural an Enterprize; but this is very hard to believe. 'Tis even said, that the

* *Xiphilin.*
in *Ner.*
Dio, l. 61.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 14.
‡ *Sueton.*
in *Othob.*

‡ *Xiphilin.*
in *Ner.*

* Sueton.
in Ner.
Tacit.

Annal. 14.
Dio, l. 62.

the Philosopher, finding his Lessons ineffectual, and the Malignity of *Nero's* Disposition stronger than Education, rather encouraged him to perpetrate the Murder he had so long projected, to the end that his execrable Crime might draw upon him the Hatred both of the Gods and Men. Be this how it will, *Nero* having fortify'd his Mind against whatever could happen, cast about which way to compass his Design. * One of his Inventions was, so to lay a Floor contrived for the purpose, as to fall upon her in the Night, and knock out her Brains: But this Design being discover'd, *Anicetus*, his Free-Man, who was Governor to him in his Infancy, and one of a fruitful Invention, offer'd his Service to make away with the Empress, in such manner that no Person could reasonably suspect *Nero* of her Death. He was then Commander of the Gallies, which lay in the Port of *Misenum*. He mortally hated *Agrippina*, and was mortally hated by her; and the Emperor believ'd a more proper Person could not be found for the Execution of his Design, than that perfidious Officer, who was capable of the blackest Villany. In short, he undertook to get a Galley so built and contrived, that the Deck should fall in at once of itself, and the Hold fly open at the same time, whereby *Agrippina* must infallibly be either crush'd to Death, or drown'd; and the Misfortune could be attributed to nothing but one of those dismal and unexpected Accidents which are common enough at Sea; and this the Emperor might easily make People believe, by erecting Temples to the Memory of his Mother, which would serve as so many Monuments of his Grief, and Respect and Affection, and entirely clear him of all manner of Suspicion.

Nero approved of *Anicetus's* Design; and to put it in Execution with less Danger, it was resolv'd

to do it in *Campania*, at the Celebration of the approaching Feſtival of *Minerva* at (b) *Baia*. That Solemnity furniſh'd *Nero* with a Pretence to quit *Rome*; and he engaged his Mother to go with him. He had already reconciled himſelf to her, by aſſuring her, he was ſorry he had not ſhew'd her the Reſpect that was due to her; acknowledging himſelf in the Wrong upon that ſcore; and proteſting that he would pay her the utmoſt Duty for the future; it being very juſt, added he, that Children ſhould bear with the Peeviſhneſs of thoſe from whom they derive their Being. Thus did that unnatural Prince, under the ſpecious Veil of Filial Affection, conceal the blackeſt Treason that a Man could be capable of; being perſuaded, that his Mother would be the more eaſily catch'd by this ſuperficial Reconciliation, becauſe Women readily believe what they ardently wiſh.

The Treason thus concerted, and proper Meaſures taken, *Nero* and his Mother ſet out from *Rome*, in the Galley *Anicetus* had provided, which was moſt curiouſly and magnificently adorn'd. They touch'd at *Antium*, where the Emperor left *Agrippina*, and proceeded to *Baia*. After he had been there a few days, he wrote his Mother a Letter full of the tendereſt Expreſſions, deſiring her to come and ſpend the Holidays with him. She accordingly ſet Sail from *Antium*, and put in

(b) *Baia* was a very agreeable Sea-Port of *Campania*, furniſh'd with Springs of hot Water, which People took for their Pleaſure or Benefit. The Country about it was very fertile, and the Skirts of the Town adorn'd with ſtately Palaces and delightful Gardens: So that there was always a good Concoure of the Citizens of *Rome*. *Horace* gives a great

Charaſter of *Baia* in a ſingle Verſe; viz.

*Nullus in orbe locus Baiis
præluceſt amœnis.*

And *Martial* ſays *Baia* exceeded all that he could ſpeak of it.

*Laudabo digne, non ſatis
tamen, Baias.*

This Place was ruin'd by Earthquakes.

at *Bauli*, (now *Bagola*) a Pleasure-House upon the Sea-Coast, between *Misenum* and *Baiæ*. Nero was there to receive her; and having conducted her to the Castle to repose herself, he return'd to *Baiæ*.

Notwithstanding all the Precaution that was used to keep this Enterprize secret, *Agrippina* receiv'd some Account of it, and that there was certainly a Design against her; but what to make of it, she could not tell. Under this Perplexity she would not venture again to Sea, but was carry'd in a Chair to *Baiæ*. Here she was receiv'd by her Son with all the outward Demonstrations of the most tender and sincere Affection, and daily entertain'd with Plenty and Magnificence. Nay, the Emperor, to remove all Shadow of Umbrage, entrusted her with the Secret of some important Affairs; he granted her several Favours she did not ask; gave her all the Diversions he could think of; and made her constantly sit above him; a Deference, than which nothing could have more highly obliged *Agrippina*.

This Salley of *Nero's* Good-Humour deceiv'd the Empress. She took his Political Love and Respect for real Affection; so that, in short, never did Artifice meet with better Success. *Agrippina* desiring to return to *Bauli*, the Emperor, whether it was to conceal his abominable Treachery, or whether Nature made its last Effort upon the Heart of that barbarous Prince, embraced her with all the seeming Love and Affection, that any Son could shew to a Mother. He conducted her to the Sea-side; and the Vessel on board of which she went, being somewhat shatter'd by a secret Order of *Nero*, that Prince desired her to remove on board the Galley of *Anicetus's* Contrivance, and appointed that Officer to guard, or rather to murder her.

* The

* The Night was extremely serene, and the Sea as calm; as if Providence had so order'd it, that *Nero* should not be able to hide his Crime in the Darknes of a gloomy Night, or attribute the Loss of his Mother to the Ragings of a tempestuous Sea. *Agrippina* had no Soul with her, except *Creperius Gallus*, who stood near the Rudder, and a Lady named *Aceronia Polla*, who sat at her Feet, and congratulated her upon her Reconciliation with *Nero*, whereby she was to recover her former Authority. The Galley was hardly got out of Port, when upon a Signal made by *Anicetus*, the Flooring of the Empress's Cabin fell from under her Feet, being laden with a Quantity of Lead for that very purpose. † *Creperius* was so bruised, that he died in a few Moments; but the Partitions being made too strong to give way to the Floor that fell, *Agrippina's* Cabin held out for some time. This caus'd such a Confusion, that the Seamen engaged in this Design, perceiving it did not succeed according to Wish, hardly knew what they did, or where they were. The Springs which were to make the Hold fly open at the same time that the Floor fell in, disappointed them also, by reason the Mariners who knew nothing of the Matter, hinder'd them that did; so that there was no other way to destroy the Vessel, than by oversetting it; and this was a very difficult Point, because while such of the Crew as were in the Secret, or rather in *Anicetus's* Conspiracy, made all possible Efforts to overset the Galley, the rest did what they could to save her: And thus the Design was tedious in its Execution, and of little Use when executed.

Amidst this Hurly-burly and Confusion, *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell gently into the Sea. *Aceronia*, who suspected nothing of a Design, cry'd out for Help; and to get it the quicker, call'd

* Tacit.
Ann. 14.

† Dio, l. 62.
Sueton.
in Ner.

as loud as she could bawl for them to save the Emperor's Mother. The Name she gave herself, was the Cause of her Death; for as the Seamen's Business was with *Agrippina* only, the other was soon knock'd o' the Head with their Poles and Oars, while they took her to be the Empress they were so serving: And at the same time, *Agrippina* was struggling so notably with the Waves, without speaking a Word, that she made shift to keep her Head above Water till reliev'd by the Barques from the Shoar, which upon the Noise came to their Assistance. She had only a Blow upon her Shoulder. They carry'd her to a House very near the Place where *Nero* was; and as soon as she had a little recover'd her Fright and Fatigue, the Murder of *Aceronia*, whom they had knock'd o' the Head with their Poles; the Efforts of the Mariners to destroy the Galley; and a thousand other things, came fresh into her Mind, and made her reflect upon every Circumstance that had happen'd.

She had too much Sense, not to guess at the true Cause of this extraordinary Accident, or not to distinguish between the Effects of Chance and Acts of premeditated Malice; but at the same time, she was too cunning, not to know that it was necessary to carry it as if she thought nothing of the Matter, and to avoid betraying the least Distrust. She sent her Free-Man *Agerinus* to *Nero*, to acquaint him with the Danger she had been in, but had happily escaped; and to desire him not to give himself the Trouble to come and see her, by reason she now wanted nothing so much as Repose. Her Avarice, however, sticking close to her, notwithstanding she was convinced of the Design against her Life, she caus'd Search to be made for *Aceronia's* Will, and clapt a Seal upon her Effects, without the least Disguise or Dissimulation.

Nero,

Nero, who had waited the Event of this Undertaking with the utmost Pain and Inquietude, hearing how his Mother had escaped, was under grievous Perplexities; for he could not have believ'd a Snare so well laid would miss of Success; and perceiving, by what they told him, that she could not doubt but the Accident was owing to a concerted Design, he immediately fancy'd she would in the next place stir up the Senate, the Armies, the People, and even the Slaves against him. In these tumultuous Agitations therefore, he sent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to communicate to them his Sentiments, and to learn theirs at the same time.

Those pretended Philosophers were a considerable while without answering a Word: But *Seneca*, who generally spoke first, having whisper'd the other to know whether he agreed that Soldiers should be commanded to dispatch *Agrippina*, *Burrhus* reply'd, that the Prætorian Band had too great a Love and Respect for the Blood of the *Cæsars*, and too high a Veneration for the Memory of *Germanicus*, to concern themselves in the Murder of any of the Family; but that *Anicetus* ought to go thro' with the Work he had begun. *Anicetus* did not want much Intreaty; he charged himself with that vile Commission upon easy Terms; and *Nero*, transported with Joy that he had found a Man fit for his Turn, could not help declaring, that that day *Anicetus* gave him the Empire, and that he acknowledg'd he held it of him.

By this time, Word was brought to *Nero*, that *Agerinus* was there on the part of his Mother, and desired to speak with him. He was order'd in; and while he was delivering his Message, Care was taken to drop a Dagger gently between his Feet, to ground a Story as if *Agerinus* had brought it, and that it slid from un-

der his Girdle. The Emperor immediately sent him to Prison, for a Design to assassinate him; and propagated the Report, to the end that when the World should hear of *Agrippina's* Death, they might readily come into the Belief that she had made away with herself, in Despair for the Miscarriage of her Project against *Nero's* Life.

While these things were transacting at *Baia*, the Report of *Agrippina's* Misfortune, as an unforeseen Accident to be attributed only to Chance, was spread throughout the Neighbourhood; and
 * *Tacit.* People * ran to the Sea-side from all Parts, to give
Annal. 14. her the Assistance in their Power. Some threw themselves precipitately into the first Boats they could find; others ran up to their Chins in Water; and others again, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, made the Shoar resound with their Cries, their Groans, and their Vows for the Empress's Safety. Look on which side you would, you saw People running with Lanterns and Torches, enquiring what was become of her: And it was no sooner known that she had happily escaped the Danger, and retired, but all the Country crowded in, to congratulate her upon the Deliverance which the Gods had vouchsafed her after so dismal and surprizing an Accident.

Nevertheless, *Agrippina* was under a great deal of Uneasiness. The Reflexion of what had befallen her, made her dread the Future, and extremely discomposed her Mind. No Soul came near her on the part of her Son. *Agerinus*, whom she had dispatch'd to him, was not yet return'd; and she had some secret Prefages that her fatal Hour approach'd. *Anicetus* accordingly appear'd at the Head of some Soldiers; upon the Sight of whom, all the Persons about the Empress were astonish'd. *Anicetus* beset the House with his Men, and having forced the Doors, and seiz'd all the Domesticks he could find, he at
 last

last enter'd the Chamber where *Agrippina* lay. It was but indifferently lighted; and the Empress had no Soul with her, but one of her Women, who hearing the Noise that the Soldiers made, ran away in a Fright, like the rest of her Fellow-Servants: Upon which, the unfortunate *Agrippina*, perceiving herself abandon'd by all the World, *Ab!* cry'd she to her Woman, *Can You leave me too?*

Anicetus first appear'd, and after him two Officers of the Navy. *Agrippina* no sooner perceiv'd him, but she told him with a vast deal of Resolution, that if he came to enquire after her Health, she desired him to go and acquaint his Master that she was better; but if he came to take away her Life, she could not think her Son was concern'd in it, or that he was capable of commanding Parricides. These Words did not excite the least Compassion in them; but while she was yet speaking, the Assassins surrounded her Bed, and one of the Officers who came with *Anicetus*, and was no less a Brute than himself, struck * her a desperate Blow over the Head with a Truncheon. A Centurion that stood by, then drew his Sword to dispatch her: But *Agrippina*, who was very sensible that her Son was the Author of her Death, presented her Body to the Murderers, and told them their Spight ought to be level'd at her Belly, (i) for bearing *Nero*; and by this time she was run thro' in several Places.

* *Dio,*
Tacit.
Sueton.

But *Nero's* Malice did not stop here. After having taken away his Mother's Life, he offer'd her such a horrid Insult, as (if possible) surpass'd his Parricide. For, according to some Historians, he no sooner heard of his Mother's Death, but he had the detestable Curiosity to view her Body

(i) *In mortem Centurioni ferrum distringenti, protendens uterum, Ventrem feri, exclamavit.*

thus mangled and stript naked; nay, to handle it, and brutishly remark upon its Beauties and its Blemishes; and then looking with an Air of Pleasure and Satisfaction upon those about him, he told them with a Sneer, that he did not think he had so fine a Mother. 'This is indeed contradicted by others; but 'tis not very hard to believe *Nero* such a Brute, since we read that he

* *Xiphil. in Ner.*

* kept a particular Concubine a long while, only because she resembled his Mother.

That wicked Emperor did not peaceably enjoy the Fruits of his execrable Murder; for tho' the Supreme Power, with which he was invested, and which he did so much abuse, serv'd him as a Shield against the Vengeance of Men, yet it could not screen him from the Justice of

† *Tacit.*

Annal. 14.

cap. 10.

Dic, l. 61.

† He God, against which there is no Defence. † He was devour'd with the gnawing Remorse of his Parricide, the Image whereof was continually before his Eyes; he was often heard to exclaim, that *Agrippina's* Ghost pursued him whithersoever he went. (k) He fancy'd himself perpetually beset with Furies ready to sacrifice him to the *Manes* of his Mother. He would hide himself in the darkest Holes and Corners; and was no sooner in them, but he was out again; those that seem'd to promise him the greatest Security, filling his Mind with Fright, Consternation, and Despair, the just Concomitants of his (l) Crime.

(k) Several Authors assert, that for some time after *Agrippina's* Murder, there was heard from the Hills near the Place where it was committed, the Sound of Trumpets, and Groans like a Voice from the Tombs.

(l) The following Distich was made upon Occasion of *Nero's* putting his Mother to Death;

*Quis negat Aeneæ magna
de stirpe Neronem?*

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

Several Authors of Credit in the Christian Church have believ'd *Nero* to be the Antichrist. Others maintain'd, that he must rise again, to be the Man of Sin. Others, in fine, believ'd, that *Nero* was not dead, but that he would appear again at the End of the World, to fight the Son of God.

OCTAVIA,



O C T A V I A,
C O N S O R T
T O
D O M I T I U S N E R O.



NE would think no Good could spring from *Claudius* and *Messalina*; and that we might reasonably prognosticate of their Marriage, what *Domitius Ænobarbus* foretold of his with *Agrippina*. (a) *Claudius* was a dull and heavy Prince, and in *Seneca's* Judgment shared more of the Brute than the Man. * *Messalina* was a Woman void of Shame * *Lud. in* or Modesty, and glory'd in all manner of Vice. *Claud.* And yet *Octavia* was their Daughter; a Princess no less celebrated for her Wisdom and Vertue, than respected for her high Birth. She was prudent in Times sunk into the Dregs of Wickedness, and in a Corrupt Court where Sobriety skulk'd, and Debauchery triumph'd. Her Conduct was always unexceptionable; and the bad

(a) *Seneca* has drawn the Picture of *Claudius*, with a Pencil dipt in Gall, instead of Oil: But he was resolv'd to blast that Prince's Memory, for the Mortification he gave him, by sending him into Exile.

Example of her Mother had no Effect at all upon her. In *Octavia* were join'd a noble Simplicity, an incomparable Beauty, and (which adds wonderfully to its Charms) an engaging Modesty. She was good without Affectation, sweet-temper'd and beneficent to the last degree, and had Vertue enough to grace the best of Reigns. Never did Princess better deserve to be happy; but * never did Princess feel the Weight of greater Afflictions. She hardly enjoy'd a bright and serene Day. Her Life was one continued Series of fatal Disasters; so full of Sorrow and Bitterness, that *Octavia* may be said to have lived and died without any Relish of Pleasure, or knowing what it meant.

* Senec.
in *Octav.*

She was very young, when the Emperor her Father thought of a Husband for her. Among the *Romans* of Merit to aspire to such an Honour, *Lucius Silanus* was no less distinguish'd for his excellent Qualities, than for the Dignity of his Birth. † He was Great-Grand-Son to *Augustus*; but the Lustre he derived from the *Cæsars* was nothing comparable to that of his Vertues. He was a Prince of the finest Manners, a noble Air, and a Mind as well framed as his Body. He had a true Grandeur of Soul, a beneficent Temper, and an Inclination naturally prone to Good. Thus was there no Exception to be taken against any Part of his Conduct. Moreover, the Emperor had a very particular Esteem for him; and pitch'd upon this illustrious *Roman* for a Son-in-Law. He caused him therefore to be betrothed to *Octavia*; and to render him more worthy of his Alliance, he ‡ granted him those Marks of Honour, which belong'd only to such as had triumph'd; together with other Privileges that distinguish'd him in *Rome*, where they paid a prodigious Veneration and Respect to any thing that descended from the Blood of the *Cæsars*.

† Tacit.
Annal. 12.
cap. 3. &
Annal. 13.
cap. 1.

‡ Sueton.
in *Claud.*
cap. 27.

This

This Marriage would certainly have been accomplish'd, had *Messalina* liv'd a little longer: But her Lust and her Cruelty having hasten'd her End, the haughty and ambitious *Agrippina* was substituted in her room, as we have seen; and put the Emperor upon Resolutions more agreeable to her own Scheme. That Princess, who could never moderate her Ambition, marry'd her Uncle *Claudius* with a View to the Ruin of his Family, that so the Empire might devolve upon her own. This was the main Drift of all those grand Projects form'd by *Agrippina's* Vanity. She knew, that if her Son *Domitius* marry'd the Emperor's Daughter, it would be a vast Step toward the Throne; and to make this Match, nothing was wanting but to break that between *Silanus* and *Octavia*. It was necessary therefore to fix some black Crime upon *Silanus*, which might render him unworthy of the Emperor's Alliance.

Vitellius, who was then Censor, undertook this infamous Affair. * That vile Magistrate, form'd * Tacit. Annal. 12. cap. 4. by Art and Nature to gain the Favour of the Great ones, had the basest of Souls, and was ever ready to betray his Duty for the Advancement of his Fortune. He thought there was no likelier way to insinuate himself into *Agrippina's* Good-Graces, than by ruining *Silanus*, whom he was sure she did not like: And to bring this about, he had Recourse to Lyes and Forgery. He charged him with false and imaginary Crimes, because he had no true ones to accuse him of. He spread Stories maliciously invented to stain *Silanus's* Character; and *Agrippina's* Creatures took care to propagate them. *Vitellius* himself, as Censor, reproach'd him with shewing an indiscreet Love for his Sister *Junia*. Hideous Colours were put upon this blackest of Calumnies, and no Cost nor Pains spared to persuade People that *Silanus's*

nus's Friendship for his Sister was carry'd up to a Criminal Height. Upon this Accusation, tho' without Proof, the Corrupt Cenfor declared him unworthy of his Employ; and *Silanus*, who was then actually discharging the Office of Prætor with a great deal of Honour, and to general Satisfaction, found himself struck off of the List of Senators, without knowing why; and was moreover obliged to renounce the Prætorship.

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.
Senec. in
Octav.
Sueton.
in Claud.

Claudius was the more easily surprized into this Affair, because he lov'd his Daughter too tenderly to marry her to a Man whose Affections were given to ramble. * He cancel'd the Articles between *Silanus* and *Octavia*; whereupon that pretended Criminal, well foreseeing that his Enemies would not stop there, but that *Agrippina*, of whose deep-laid Designs he had a true Notion, would go on to persecute a Man that stood in the way of her tow'ring Projects, either in Despair, or by Compulsion, laid violent Hands upon himself; signalizing by his Death *Claudius*'s Wedding-Day with his Niece *Agrippina*.

The Breaking off of this Match was the greatest Misfortune that could have befallen *Octavia*; for no sooner was she disengaged from *Silanus*, but *Agrippina* was contriving to marry her to her Son *Domitius*. *Pollio*, a Gentleman nominated to the Consulate, being gain'd by the Empress's fine Promises, undertook to make the Proposal to *Claudius*; and that Prince, who always acted agreeably to the Impressions that others made upon him, readily gave his Consent: *Domitius* espoused *Octavia*, and by that means open'd to himself the high Road to Empire. But this Work is not, however, to be attributed to *Pollio* singly: As many as were concern'd in *Messalina*'s Death, favour'd *Nero*'s Advancement; for fear *Britannicus*, if ever he should be Emperor, should revenge the barbarous Assassination of his Mother.

The

The Ease with which *Agrippina* compass'd her Designs, was a Temptation for her always to engage in new. Beside the absolute Power she had gain'd over *Claudius*, whom she kept in a sort of Captivity, she was supported by the Interest of all the Free-Men, who did what they pleas'd with that weak Prince, and made him give into every thing they propos'd; for he was not capable of penetrating into the vast Designs of his Spouse, as appear'd by his adopting her Son *Domitius* at her Solicitation. *Pallas*, whom she had long since bound fast to her, with Links forged in the Fire of Lust, undertook for the Success; nor did it cost him much Trouble to bring it about. The Necessities of the Republick; *Britannicus's* Youth, requiring a Support; and the Emperor's infirm State of Health, whom it highly concern'd to take in an Assistant, to ease him of Part of the Weight of Government; these were the Reasons he urged, and enforced with the Example of *Augustus*, * who adopted the Sons of * *Tacit.* his Wife *Livia*; and with that of *Tiberius*, who *Annal. 12.* call'd in the Son of *Germanicus* to assist his own Son in the Government of the Empire: And they appear'd unanswerable to *Claudius*, who thereupon proceeded without Hesitation to an Adoption he judg'd so very necessary. Thus was *Domitius* receiv'd into *Claudius's* Family, under the Name of *Nero*, by an Adoption for which there was no Precedent in the Patrician Family of the *Claudii*.

This Adoption, whereby *Nero* was put upon the level with *Britannicus*, was confirm'd by the Senate, who canonized, as we may say, all that *Agrippina* did, by Decrees drawn after the Dictates of Flattery: But at the same time, every honest Man disliked this Step, and pity'd a poor Prince, thus basely abandon'd, to make room for a Stranger to build his Fortune upon his Ruin.

Nay,

* Dio,
lib. 60.
Xiphilin.
in *Ner.*

Nay, the very Heavens seem'd to resent such a flagrant Injustice; for the day it was transacted, they * appear'd all on Fire, as if they would prefigure *Nero's* Character, and the Violence of his Temper, and give a sad Presage of the Flames that furious Prince would one day kindle in *Rome*.

† Dio,
lib. 61.

Octavia foresaw the Consequences of this injurious Adoption, and shed many a Tear for the unhappy Fate of her Brother; perceiving him to be the Object of an ambitious Step-Mother's Cruelties, which tended to the Destruction of the Imperial Family. This was in effect *Agrippina's* only Aim; and it was to compass these Ends, that she push'd on the Marriage of her Son with *Octavia*. All things were hastily disposed thereto; and lest an Obstacle should appear in its way, the Princess † was receiv'd by a Mock-Adoption into another Family, that People might not say a Brother had marry'd his Sister.

Their Nuptials were celebrated with more Precipitation than Pomp. *Nero* carry'd to them a Heart elate with Joy and Satisfaction; not that he lov'd *Octavia*, but because this Match paved his Way to the Throne: The Emperor's Daughter, on the contrary, who was sacrificed to this Political Alliance, appear'd to be (*b*) very much dejected. *Agrippina* now saw the happy Accomplishment of her Wishes; and imagining she had sufficiently secured the Empire to her Son, she bent all her Thoughts to the Execution of the grand Design she had long been meditating.

Claudius's Imprudence soon fixt her Resolution. That Prince sitting one day at Table, in the Heat of Wine, which was nothing Extraordinary with him, weakly dropt an Expression, hinting that tho' all his Marriages had proved unlucky,

(*b*) *Huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit.*

and

and his Wives unchaste, yet sooner or later he should find a way to revenge the Indignities they had offer'd him. *Agrippina* needed no more, to put her upon preventing, if possible, the Effects of his Vengeance. (c) *Locusta*, * famous * *Tacit. Annal. 12. Sueton. in Claud. Dio, Entrop.* in the Art of abridging Lives, was immediately set to work; and in a few days, the Emperor having eaten some Mushrooms of *Agrippina's* preparing, found his Death in that Ragoo, which was his Favourite Dish. *Claudius* was deify'd; the *Apotheosis* was readily granted him; and *Nero* was saluted Emperor, in prejudice to *Britannicus*, who was the only Rightful Heir.

It is easy to conceive how great a Trouble this was to *Octavia*. Young as she was, † she well † *Tacit. Annal. 13.* knew the Author and the Design of that fatal Stroke: But the Art of Diffimulation is of singular Service, and sometimes a Relief, in the Courts of Princes. *Octavia* look'd upon herself as a Stranger in her Father's Palace; and, taught by a Chain of Misfortunes to conceal her Sentiments, she trampled her Grievances under Foot: She knew how much it behoved her to counterfeit, and pretend Ignorance; and she had frequent Occasion to exercise that Political Talent. As *Nero* had marry'd her, only by way of Step to ascend the Throne, he never shew'd any great matter of Affection for her; but as soon as he had gain'd that Point, he turn'd his Affection upon other Objects, to the prejudice of his lawful Wife: A Princess of unspotted Chastity, and a Beauty the more valuable, as she used nothing of Paint or Art to set it off.

Acte was the first that made a Conquest of his Heart. || He fell violently in Love with her; || *Sueton. in Ner.*

(c) *Locusta* was a famous Poisoner, that did a great deal of Mischief at Rome, for which she was imprison'd. *Nero* sent for her from *Gaul*, to make use of her in poisoning Prince *Britannicus*: And *Galba* put her to Death. *Tacit. Annal. 13.*

and

and his Passion seem'd in some sort authorized by the Silence of his Preceptors, who, either out of their odd Notion of Politicks, or by the basest Dissimulation, which could not but produce bad Consequences, shamefully applauded that Prince's Debaucheries, whom they believ'd they might tolerate in his Criminal Pleasures, to which they gave the soft Term of Amusements, to prevent, as they pretended, his giving himself up to greater Disorders, and by that means to preserve the Chastity and Reputation of the *Roman Ladies*, who were continually alarm'd by the Emperor's furious Passions: But their true Design was to make use of *Acte's* Interest as a Counterpoise for *Agrippina's* Authority; not doubting, but in the same proportion as that Empress's Power dwindled, theirs would advance and become considerable. Thus *Nero*, having no body to contradict his Sensualities, gave himself up to them without Reserve.

Among his Friends, some however were honest enough to consider the Wrong he did to *Octavia*, and to take the Liberty to tell him of it: But all they could say was to no purpose, nor had the least Effect upon a Prince, who was not always in a Humour to hearken; so that it only serv'd to enlarge the Wound they design'd to heal: For *Nero*, looking upon his Friends as so many sower Censors, and consulting no other Master than his Passion, morosely answer'd them, That * *Octavia* ought to content herself with the simple Ornaments of a Woman. It is indeed great odds but he had divorced her at this time; only *Burrhus*, his Governor, seeing to what a Length he carry'd things, told him plainly, and with a free and resolute Air, that if he repudiated *Octavia*, he must give her back her Fortune; as much as to say, he was indebted to her for the Empire.

* *Sueton.*
in *Ner.*
Tacit.
Dio.

Now,

Now, had *Acte's* Interest with the Emperor brought no other Calamity upon *Octavia*, than the Loss of *Nero's* Affection, she had little concern'd herself about it; for she was not in the least jealous of that unworthy Competition. She always beheld her Consort's Adulteries with an Eye of Indifference, and was above Contempt, which she thought sufficiently revenged in that which the inglorious Emperor drew upon himself, by his scandalous Surrender to the artful Caresses of a Prostitute. But it was not so much the Emperor's Love, that was the Object of *Acte's* Wishes; no, she had a greater Regard by much to the Advancement of her Fortune, than to the Conquest of his Heart; and the Throne of the Empire was at the bottom of her Views. Full of these deluding Hopes, she made the most of her Charms to captivate *Nero*, and met in that Prince all the Dispositions she could desire for the Accomplishment of her Vows. His Corruption of Mind and Manners; his Aversion to Vertue; his Proneness to Vice; and his Hatred for *Octavia*; all these favour'd the ambitious Designs of that Coquet.

But beside that *Nero* was immersed in the most infamous Pleasures, he was beset by a Company of debauch'd Youth, and effeminate Free-Men, whose Principles were as mean as their Birth, and of whom he could learn nothing but Lewdness and Debauchery. *Burrhus* and *Seneca* contributed their Lights only at a Distance, and even neglected their Duty, when they saw their Endeavours baffled, and their Instructions thrown away upon a Prince whose Nature was so depraved, that he scoff'd at all the good Advice they gave him for Conduct in Life. On the other hand, * *Otho*, that noted Debauchee, whom Resem-

* *Tacit.*
Sueton.
Dio.

blance of Manners had introduced into the Emperor's Good-Graces; *Petronius*, so skilful in the

Art

Art of Pleasures, and the delicate Orderer of *Nero's*; *Crescentius*, a vile Free-Man; *Vatinius*, who, weary of struggling with Misery in a Shoemaker's Shop, where he had been brought up, had the Secret of insinuating himself into the Emperor's Favour, by the most infamous Methods, notwithstanding the strange Deformity of his Body; *Tigellinus*, who from his low Birth rais'd himself to the Summit of Fortune, by all the Degrees of Iniquity; *Anicetus*, another Free-Man, who was afterward the Instrument of his Parricide; *Pythagoras*, by whom he caused himself to be solemnly espoused, to give his monstrous Lewdness a new Bait, after being cloy'd with the ordinary Pleasures; * *Sporus*, whom he had the Folly to marry as a Woman, after that of attempting to make him so; *Senecion*; *Serenus*, and a great many other scandalous Excrements of the Empire, known only for the Novelty of their Fortune, were the glorious Models *Nero* proposed to himself; the worthy Masters, whose Precepts and Examples he follow'd: So that if he had not been wicked by Nature, he must have been so by Contagion.

* *Sueton.*
in Ner.
cap. 28.

Among this Tribe of unworthy Favourites, and
† *Tacit.* fordid Flatterers, *Nero* made † *Senecion* the Con-
Annal. 13. fident of his Passion for *Acte*, because his Inclinations came the nearest of any to his own. *Agrippina* could not bear this Familiarity with Patience: She made many a Bustle to break it off; especially when she heard that *Senecion* indulged her Son's Passion for *Acte*, by whose Interest she could not endure her own to be balanced; and *Nero* not having yet lost all Sentiments of Humanity, did so far observe Measures, as to quit *Senecion* for a while, and to make use of *Serenus* to carry on his Intrigue, who gave out that he courted *Acte*, and that the Presents he carry'd her from *Nero* were his own. But
this

his troublesome Precaution did not long agree with a Prince, who wanted Patience to undergo such Formalities, and Delicacy to relish Mystery in Love. Beside, it is not easy to conceal a violent Passion long, and prevent its taking Air: And therefore, weary of Constraint, *Nero* began to visit *Acte* with less Reserve and Circumspection; from thence he proceeded to make his Amour as publick as possible; deliver'd himself up entirely to *Senecion*; and casting both his Mother's Threats and her Solicitations behind him, he took the Resolution to marry *Acte*.

There were two grand Obstacles in the way of this Match: *Octavia* must be put away; and a Slave made Free (for *Acte* was no better) advanced to the Throne of the Empire. The former was a crying Injustice; and the latter a monstrous Innovation. To divorce *Octavia*, was to provoke the Senate, and challenge an Insurrection of the People, zealously affected toward the Blood of the *Casars*. To marry *Acte*, was to affront all the Orders of the City, and to degrade the Majesty of the Empire, by promoting a Slave to it. Nevertheless, that Princess's Love had triumph'd over all these Difficulties, and the Remonstrances of his Preceptors into the bargain, had he not been restrain'd by the Fear that his Marriage with *Acte* would alienate the Affections of the People from him, and turn them over to *Britannicus*, already too much dreaded by him. This was the true Curb upon his Passion, without which he had certainly executed what he design'd. He had actually framed Reasons for repudiating *Octavia*; and was in very little Pain about making them pass Muster with the Senate, having gain'd such an Ascendant over the Minds of the pusillanimous Judges who composed it, that they never scrupled to sacrifice their Duty and their Honour to their Fortune, basely giving

* *Sueton.*
in *Ner.*
Xiphilin.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.

a Sanction by their Suffrages to all *Nero's* Actions, or rather his Crimes, to curry Favour with him; for they had no Notion of dishonouring their Character, by the poorest and most fordid Compliances. *Acte's* Birth, hardly a Remove from Servitude, was an Obstacle not very difficult to remove: *Nero* had resolved to make her pass for one of Royal Blood. For this end, * two Persons who had been dignify'd with the Consulate, had the pitiful Condescension to engage to take their Oaths, that *Acte* was descended from a Race of Kings; a fabulous Genealogy was to equal to Ladies of the first Rank in *Rome*, a Person whose Father was no better than a Slave; and the Emperor himself, to authorize this pretended Nobility of his Mistress, adopted her into the Family of (c) *Attalus*. Thus were all things disposed for this Match; when, making the Reflexions above taken notice of, *Nero* fancy'd that considering what the common Opinion was concerning *Britannicus's* Right to the Throne, his only way would be to get rid of that Prince before he did a thing so Unpopular, and which he knew would give a general Discontent. † *Britannicus*, who was then entering upon the Fifteenth Year of his Age, was dreaded by *Nero* upon more than one Account. Not to mention his Personal Merit, and the natural Affection which Subjects have for their Lawful Prince; *Agrippina*, being disobliged, was continually threatening her Son to conduct *Britannicus* to the Armies as *Claudius's* Rightful Successor; to expose to all the World the Mysteries of Iniquity that had been transacted; her incestuous Marriage; *Silanus's* unjust and violent Death; the Poisoning of *Claudius*; and lastly she would undertake to convince

(c) *Attalus* was King of *Pergamus* in *Asia*. He was immensely rich; and had the finest Furniture that ever was seen. Dying without Issue, he left the People of *Rome* his Heirs. The Invention of Tapestry is attributed to him. This *Attalus* was Third of the Name, and surnamed *Philopator*.

all

all Ranks of Men, that *Nero* govern'd the Empire only by Commission, and that it was high time to restore it to *Claudius's* Son, who was the only Lawful Heir.

Nero resolv'd these dangerous Menaces in his Mind; and they made such an Impression upon him, that looking upon *Britannicus* ever after as the most formidable Enemy he had, he resolv'd to try what a Dose of Poison would do with him; for he durst not offer any open Violence. *Pollio*, Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort, a Man without Faith or Honour, was the fittest Instrument that vile Emperor could pitch upon, to put *Britannicus*, the Son of his Emperor and Benefactor, and his Collegue, Brother-in-Law, and Brother by Adoption, to Death. *Locusta*, celebrated for poisoning, who, as an Historian says, was a long time one of the principal Resorts of the Government, was immediately set to work. * She was in Prison, under *Pollio's* Keeping, for a thousand Crimes, which had cost many People their Lives: And she was promis'd her Liberty, provided she would purchase it at the Price of the young Prince's Blood. This Condition, hard as it was, did not stick with her. *Locusta* prepared a Poison; and who should give it to poor *Britannicus*, but his very Preceptors themselves? However, whether they administer'd it too slowly, for fear the quick Working of it should discover the Villany; or perhaps, being of a tender Nature, it did not stay long enough with him; certainly it had no Effect upon him. *Nero*, vex'd at this Disappointment, threaten'd *Pollio*, and even order'd him to get *Locusta* dispatch'd, not doubting but both of them had sham'd it for fear of a Discovery, and judging that by this means they sufficiently expos'd him: But to make him amends, they promis'd to give *Britannicus* so subtle a Poison, that it should carry him off in a Moment. This was

* Tacit.
Annal. 12.
Sueton.

made up in the Emperor's Chamber, and even in his Presence; and lest the young Prince should have any Suspicion of what was intended, it was to be apply'd at Table, where every thing was tasted. They handed him some Liquor almost boiling hot, and tasted it, because they knew there was no Poison in it; but *Britannicus* complaining of the Heat, they brought him a little Water to cool it; and here lay the whole Contrivance, for the Water was poison'd; and scarce had the young Prince begun to drink, but he dropt down Stone-dead, having in the same Moment lost all Principles of Life, and the Faculty of respiring.

Octavia, who was present at this Tragical Scene, and whom *Nero*, to cloak the Matter, would persuade it was an Accident owing to the Falling-Sickness he said *Britannicus* had been liable to, was reduced to the hard Necessity, and the cruel Policy, to stifle her Sorrow, for fear of shewing that she suspected *Nero's* Treachery; and to assume an Air of Tranquillity, at the same time that her Heart was furcharged with Grief. The Truth is, she might well lament the Loss of a Brother, in whom she saw the celebrated Family of the *Claudii* extinct, and whom she had always look'd upon as the last Resource to work a Change, sooner or later, in her unfortunate Life. For tho' the ill Treatment she met with, excited a general Compassion for her; yet her Friends who were in Authority had not Courage to serve her, otherwise than by bare Wishes and fruitless Desires; few giving themselves any Trouble to turn the Course of her Misery.

This Stroke was also a mortal Blow given to *Agrippina*. Having no Concern in it, she was perfectly astonish'd at the Sight of *Britannicus* falling by so foul a Perfidy. She look'd upon this Proceeding of *Nero* as an Introduction to Parricide. She mingled her Tears with those of

Octavia,

Octavia, as soon they had an Opportunity of shedding them together without Witnesses; embraced her with all the Demonstrations of a real Tendernefs; and gave her the surest Tokens of a sincere Love; Resemblance of Fate having fill'd her Heart with those affectionate Sentiments, which otherwise it would hardly have been susceptible of. But this was not the only Mortification she was to undergo: *Poppæa's* growing Interest paved the way to yet more grievous; for *Nero* having taken some Disgust at *Acte*, and being deliver'd from the Bondage of that imperious Concubine, had not Time to feel his Liberty, but fell under a new Captivity, more severe than the former; his Love for *Sabina Poppæa* being so violent, that nothing would serve him, but marry her he must. And because his Mother's Authority was an unwieldy Obstacle to the Accomplishment of his Designs, he resolv'd to shake off that Yoak, which was a dead Weight upon his Liberty, and to put her to Death who had brought him into the World. *Poppæa* had been long working him up to this Resolution; and *Nero*, no longer able to refuse her any thing, fortify'd himself against all the Remorse that could arise from his Crime, which was the Height of vile Ingratitude, as well as of barbarous Fury; and embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Mother, to whom he was indebted both for his Life and Empire. This was the just Reward which it pleased God to permitt that flagitious Prince to bestow upon the too ambitious Desires of *Agrippina*, who had gone thro' such a Course of Wickedness for the Advancement of her unnatural Son; to teach us, that Parents ought to moderate their Wishes and their Endeavours for the aggrandizing of their Children; and to promise themselves better Fruit from their good Education, and the good and vertuous

ous Examples they set them, than from the highest Fortune in the World.

Octavia was now the only Victim that remain'd to be sacrificed to *Nero's* savage Cruelty, and *Poppæa's* restless Jealousy. As it was dangerous to take her off by an Act of open Violence, because she was the People's Darling, and they had nothing to lay to her Charge that could justify it; and on the other hand, it was no less difficult to do it by the Use of Poison, without a Discovery; the Emperor resolv'd to be his Wife's Executioner himself, by strangling her in secret: But meeting every where with some Obstacle or other, he changed his Mind, and was determin'd to repudiate her. This Expedient had the ready Approbation of those sordid Flatterers about him, who, being more jealous of their own private Interest than of their Master's Glory, made it their Study to indulge his Passions, to perpetuate themselves in his Favour.

Tigellinus was the chief Promoter of this Design. That insolent Favourite had found means to insinuate himself so far into *Nero's* Good-Graces, that he was the Companion of all his Pleasures, and was frequently indeed the Contriver and Disposer of them. Thus invested with the Emperor's Authority, in whose Friendship he took care to maintain himself by the most scandalous Deportment, he boldly affronted the best Families in *Rome*, who stood in Fear of his Power and Malice. His Carriage was remarkable for a particular Air of stupid Pride, which made even those stand in Awe of him, who not long before knew him only for his Meanness; and * joining the Insolence, which usually attends a good Fortune, to the Rudeness and Ill-Nature generally derived from a mean Education, he made it his sole Care, amidst this Affluence of Wealth, and Credit, and Power, to maintain

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 14.

tain himself, by any means, were they never so base, in the high Rank to which he had rais'd himself by his Craft and Villany. As he had a dirty, base, and mercenary Soul, sunk into the most scandalous Vices, and capable of the Worst of Crimes, which long Habit had made familiar and as it were natural to him, he found it no hard Task to continue himself in Power, by all those mean and criminal Compliances, which a Man void of (d) Honour could be guilty of. So that it is not at all surprizing, that being such as I have painted him from very good Originals, he put *Nero* upon the Project of divorcing the vertuous *Octavia*, to marry the impudent *Poppæa*. Reasons were framed for authorizing this Separation; and because the Princess's Vertue was never in the least suspected, her Barrenness was made the ground of a Petition to the Emperor, that he would please to put her away, because she could not give him a Successor; and upon this Foundation the good Empress was divorced from her Husband, as a plausible and legitimate Cause. For the Empire, which was her Portion, they gave her *Plautus's* Estate, and *Burrhus's* House to live in, which was look'd upon as very ominous to her.

But *Poppæa* could not satisfy herself with all these Proceedings. *Octavia's* Neighbourhood damp'd her Ambition; and was a grating Object, which she judg'd it concern'd her to remove. Some Crime must be fixt, therefore, upon the in-

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Tigellinus was then at *Sinuessa*; and when the melancholy News was told him, he committed a Crime which made his Punishment the more justifiable. That infamous and debauch'd Man had the Courage to prevent their Design, by cutting his own Throat with a Razor.

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nocent Princess, worthy of Banishment; and it was impossible to find out a real one. What could be done in this Case? Why, *Tigellinus*, who never was at a loss in forging imaginary Faults, and had an inexhaustible Fund of Calumny, made slight of the Difficulty, and undertook to prove *Octavia* Guilty. Accordingly, one of her own Domesticks was prevail'd upon by that abandon'd Courtier, to turn Informer against his Mistress. He accused her of an unwarrantable Familiarity with a Slave named *Eucer*, a Native of *Alexandria*, and a Flute-Master by Profession; and upon this extravagant Charge, which all Circumstances appear'd to contradict, they attempted to prove the vertuous *Octavia* a Prostitute. Her Women and other Servants were examin'd; and to extort from them false Evidence to give their Cause a Lift, the frightful Instruments of Rack and Torture were brought in Sight, on purpose to intimidate them. It was hoped this Artifice would not succeed; but some of the Women chose rather to give up the Truth, than to undergo a little Torment: But if Force and Violence, join'd with *Tigellinus*'s Threats, the Weakness of their Sex, and the Presence of all the Ministers of *Nero*'s Cruelty and *Poppæa*'s Jealousy, induced some of them to forget their Duty, and make false Depositions, the only way to avoid Punishment, by charging their innocent Mistress with a Crime no body believ'd her capable of; several others bore an intrepid Testimony to the Truth, by declaring the Empress's Innocence in the midst of their Torments, and giving just Encomiums to her Vertue; their Fidelity proving too strong for the Pangs they were made to endure, in order to corrupt it. Thus did Falshood and Treachery appear barefaced, to the Confusion of *Octavia*'s Enemies; Truth triumph'd gloriously over Artifice; and this infamous

famous Accusation serv'd only to give fresh Lustre to the Character they design'd to blacken. *Tigellinus*, who was the most outrageous and brutish Enemy *Octavia* had, was himself shamefully confounded by one of those Servants, who had the Courage to dash even the harden'd Impudence of that bold Calumniator; for, having ask'd her, in his savage manner, whether it was not true that her Mistress had prostituted herself to *Eucer* the Piper? * she answer'd him with a * *Tacit.* disdainful Generosity, that (e) the least pure Part *Annal.* 14. of *Octavia's* Body was a thousand times more chaste and pure, than his infamous Mouth. An Answer poignant enough to have cover'd that base Courtier with Confusion, if his Soul had not been sunk too low for Resentment to enter it.

Nevertheless, such was their monstrous Iniquity, that Innocence proved and acknowledged must yield to the Efforts of baffled Calumny. *Octavia* was banish'd to *Campania*, and a Guard placed upon her, as if she had been a State-Criminal, whose dangerous Practices they had Reason to apprehend. The People, however, were forward to shew their Inclination for the Empress so unworthily treated; and their Affection was neither timorous nor dumb: For they clamour'd loudly against her unjust Banishment, and rais'd every where a general Murmur, blended with Complaints against *Nero*, and Indignation against *Poppæa*, who was the Occasion of *Octavia's* Exile. These Complaints soon reach'd the Emperor's Ears; whereupon, apprehending the Fury of the People, the first impetuous Flames of which are so much the more terrible, as there is no Dam can stem their Torrent; *Nero*, I say, pre-

(e) *Ex quibus una, instanti Tigellino, castiora esse muliebria Octavia, quàm os ejus, respondit.*

tending a Concern for what was done, immediately recall'd her.

Octavia appear'd; and the Return of that innocent and illustrious Exile fill'd *Rome* with Joy and Exultation. The People shew'd this with Tokens of so much Disrespect to the Emperor's Concubine, that they demolish'd all the Statues which had been created to her Honour, restored those of the Empress, crown'd them with Garlands of Flowers, and carry'd them in Triumph thro' all the Streets and Temples, with a Veneration equal to those of the Gods. They exerted themselves in pompous Elogiums of *Nero*, for taking home his Lawful Spouse. Now that Serenity of Countenance, which had been banish'd with the Empress, return'd; and nothing was talk'd of, but Pleasures and Diversions. In short, such were the Demonstrations of sincere Joy, which the *Romans* thus tumultuously gave, upon seeing *Octavia* appear once more among them, that you would have thought every private Man's Fortune had been made by her Return.

This Flash of the People was, notwithstanding, of ill Consequence to that Princess. The haughty *Poppæa*, being more enraged than ever at the Insult that had been offer'd her, and the unpardonable Contempt they had shewn, by demolishing her Statues; and rightly judging that this Rapture of the Multitude had intimidated *Nero*, and obliged him to recall *Octavia*; did not question but the Emperor, whom she perceiv'd to stand in Awe of the Caprices of the Mobb, would e're long chop about with the Wind, and turn his Affection to his Wife, and thereby sacrifice her, sooner or later, to the Tranquillity of the State and his own Safety; which she very much apprehended. She call'd in to her Aid, therefore, all the Charms and Address she was Mistress of, to prevail with *Nero* to send *Octavia* again into Exile,

Exile. She went and threw herself at his Feet, and with Tears in her Eyes, and an Air assumed to move Compassion, told him, it was very surprizing that he would suffer his Authority to be thus abused by a mean-spirited Condescension to the furious Outrages of a Mobb, which by that means became so many Triumphs over the Sovereign Power of the Prince: That it was never known that an Emperor had humour'd the extravagant Freaks of an insolent People, to whose Caprices he prostituted his Dignity, by bearing with the Affronts they had put upon one whom he was pleas'd to honour with his Love and Protection: That this Insult was but a Prelude to what he had to fear with regard to his own Person: That *Octavia's* Power was more formidable than he was aware, tho' he might have seen enough of it in the late Mutinies of an insolent People, who had sawcily imposed Laws upon him, by forcing him to recall one he had banish'd. In short, she play'd her Cards so dextrously with him, that *Nero*, either imagining his Honour and Safety engaged in his Wife's Removal; or else, not having the Power to deny that Victim to the Jealousy of *Poppæa*, who had perfectly bewitched him, he set his Hand to the Sentence of Death pronounced by the cruel *Sabina*. They agreed that she should not be executed at *Rome*, for fear of causing some new Disturbance; but that she should once more be sent into Banishment, where Means might be found to dispatch her without Danger.

All the Difficulty was, to invent some Crime to accuse her of with any tolerable Face of Probability; for no body gave the least Credit to what had been alledg'd against her before. The Declaration of *Octavia's* Servants had evinced the Falshood of it; and was a decisive Proof of their Mistress's Innocence: But had she wanted those glaring Testimonies, the high Esteem she had

had gain'd, by an unexceptionable Conduct, would have serv'd her instead of the most glorious Depositions. It was resolv'd, therefore, to add to the Crime of Adultery, that of an Intention to disturb the State, and to find some Evidence who would charge her by her own Confession, and who had an Employ proper to favour the Likelihood of caballing with him to form a Party, and seducing him into her Interests and Designs at the Expence of his Honour. To start so vile a Calumny, and propagate it with Impudence, against a Princess whose Wisdom and Innocence were known and admired by the whole World, required, no doubt, a Man lost to Shame, and endued with the blackest of Souls; and they judg'd none so fit for their Turn, as *Anicetus*, Commander of the Gallies in the Port of *Misenum*, who had formerly been employ'd in the Murder of *Agrippina*.

Nor were they deceiv'd in their Choice of that profligate Officer, who could never boggle at the Commission of any Crime, after he had embrued his Hands in the Blood of the Empress *Agrippina*, and thereby incurr'd the horrid Guilt of Parricide. *Nero* sent for this Man, and told him, his Delivering him from the Treasons of his Mother was of no Effect, if he did not secure him as well against the dangerous and revengeful Designs of his Wife: That to do this, he need neither spill her Blood, nor committ any other Act of Violence; but it should suffice him to declare himself *Octavia's* Adulterer. He made him magnificent Promises for this Piece of Service, which he protested to be the greatest he could do him; and to put it out of his Power to refuse him, he gave him to understand, that after having entrusted him with a Secret of so great Importance, he was under a necessity of putting him to Death, in case he did not comply with
what

what was desired of him, to render it impossible for him ever to tell Tales.

Anicetus, who had no Honour to consult, after having perpetrated so many Villanies, readily undertook to do what was proposed to him, without demanding a Moment's Time to consider of it; and whether he was actuated by *Nero's* Promises or Threatnings, he acknowledg'd his Adultery with *Octavia*, in the Presence of that Emperor's Friends, or rather of his Companions in Iniquity, all devoted to his Service, and now assembled for the purpose. This Imposture fill'd up the Measure of *Anicetus's* Crimes, and of *Octavia's* Misfortunes. That Princess was accused, try'd, and condemn'd at one and the same time; for never was less Enquiry made into the Merits of any Cause. All the Judges were agreed; *Anicetus's* Confession was sufficient Proof to ground the Empress's Sentence upon; and upon this ground *Octavia* was pronounced an Adulteress, and sent into Exile with the same Security, as if her Accusation had been made good by the most glaring and substantial Evidence of Truth. *Anicetus's* Crime was next consider'd, and he banish'd to *Sardinia*; where Care was taken to soften the Rigours of his Mock-Confinement, by an Affluence of all things to the day of his Death.

After this Decree made by an Assembly of faithless and dishonourable Men, entirely devoted to *Poppæa's* Pleasures and *Nero's* Passions, and therefore openly discredited; the Tyrant's next Step was, to publish the Traiterous Designs pretended to have been form'd by *Octavia* against him and the Empire, who (he said) had been so vile, as to corrupt *Anicetus* Commander of the Gallies, and to draw him into her Conspiracy at the Expence of her Honour, by prostituting herself to him, that she might have the Naval Force at her

Ser-

Service: But in vain do we disguise the Truth; our very Colours sometimes tend to discover it; and the Precautions we use, to hide an Imposture, frequently strike a Light amidst the Darkneſs we would thicken: For *Nero*, to make *Octavia's* Adultery go down glib with the Populace, was ſo barbarous as to report that ſhe had uſed Means to cauſe an Abortion, to prevent her Crime's reaching the Knowledge of the Emperor and the Publick; without conſidering, that the firſt time he went about to repudiate her, the ſubtleſt Malice could not find in that good Princeſs any juſt Cauſe of Divorce, but he was obliged to have Recourſe to the Pretence of his Spouſe's Sterility, which, he alledg'd, deprived him of all Hopes of an Heir to ſucceed him in the Empire: A Plea, which to his Shame deſtroy'd the Reproach of this Abortion.

As for *Anicetus's* Confeſſion of the Crime, which was urged as a Proof that left no room to doubt of *Octavia's* Guilt; 'twas plain, no Regard ought to have been paid to it; nothing which that infamous Officer ſaid, deſerving the leaſt Credit. The Evidence of a Man noted for ſo many Crimes, might well be ſuſpected; and certainly *Agrippina's* Murderer ſhould not have been admitted as *Octavia's* Accuſer. But what Juſtice could be expected from an irregular and paſſionate Aſſembly, a Pack of fordid mercenary Courtiers, who voted juſt as *Nero* would have them?

In a word, oppreſs'd Vertue ſell a merciless Sacrifice to triumphant Jealouſy; and *Octavia's* forged and imaginary Crimes were expiated by a fatal and real Punishment. That unfortunate Empreſs was baniſh'd to the Iſle of *Pandateria*; and never did Exile move a juſter or a greater Compaſſion in the Breſts of the *Romans*. This revived the Diſcourſe of *Agrippina* and her Siſters
Baniſhment,

Banishment, and that of *Julia* Daughter to *Augustus*: But all agreed, that these found some Relief in the Places of their Confinement; that there was but too much Reason for what they endured; and beside, their gloomy Days were preceded by a long Sun-Shine at Court, so that the Pleasures they had enjoy'd might in some measure counterbalance their Miseries: Whereas *Octavia's* Case admitted of no Consolation, but the general Sorrow for her cruel Banishment; since without ever giving the least Occasion of Complaint, she was barbarously punish'd for an imaginary Crime, the very Charge of which was ten thousand times worse to her, than Death itself.

She was moreover conducted to her Exile with such Strokes of Inhumanity, as it were a Shame to have used toward a Criminal of the lowest Degree; being surrounded all the way with a Number of Centurions and Soldiers, whose Insolence was back'd by the Emperor's Authority: And thus did they treat her with a savage Rudeness and Severity, to shew that they had *Nero's* Order not to spare her.

Mean while, tho' these Barbarities, equally cruel and unjust, were so many fatal Omens of the approaching Catastrophe, and she might have read the Sentence of Death in the Behaviour of her Persecutors; yet *Octavia* had not the Courage to face it, and to renounce a Life embitter'd with so many Calamities. (f) She was but Twenty Years old, and might have promis'd herself happy Days, in case she had survived her Husband, who brought these Storms upon her; and in all Appearance, that Prince's Reign must be short, as those of Tyrants generally are; the

(f) *Ac puella vicesimo ætatis anno, inter centuriones & milites, præfagio malorum jam* | *à vita exempta, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat.*

infamous *Nero* being then actually engaged in his own Ruin, by his abominable Course of Life, divided between monstrous Pleasures and unparallel'd Cruelties.

But *Octavia* had not the Pleasure to see such a happy Turn of Fortune. Scarce was she arrived in the Place of her Exile, when Warning was given her to prepare for Death. The poor Princess shudder'd at the News. She protested, that as she had been repudiated by her Husband, she did not desire to be look'd upon as his Wife, but renounced that Quality in favour of *Poppæa*; and therefore they might safely let her live, because she would no ways pretend to interrupt her Rival's Happiness. She was content, she said, to pass for the Emperor's Sister; and as such, could be no Obstacle to *Sabina's* Views. She invoked *Germanicus*, from whom she was descended, as well as the Emperor; and call'd in *Agrippina* to her Aid, who, tho' she had persecuted her, and was the original Cause of her Misfortunes, had always used her with less Cruelty than this: But all her Complaints, her Sighs, and her Tears could not move Pity in the Breasts of those who had undertaken her Murder. They bound her, and open'd her Veins; and because the Blood ran but slowly and with Difficulty, occasion'd by the Princess's Fear of Death, they suffocated her in a Bath, and with her the Beauty, the Vertues, and the Graces of the best Empress that ever sprung from the Blood of the (g) *Cæsars*.

Octavia's Death put an end to *Poppæa's* Jealousy, but not to her Cruelty. Not content with having sacrificed that illustrious Victim, she sent for her Head. An Object so worthy of Compassion, was to her an agreeable Sight.

(g) *Octavia* was murder'd | that very day six Years after,
upon the 11th of June; and | *Nero* kill'd himself.

She

She regaled her sanguinary Eyes with it; and Rome beheld the Head of the finest Princess that ever graced the Throne of its Empire in the Hands of an infamous Prostitute. The People were under a prodigious deal of Concern at the dismal Fate of this unfortunate Empress, and honour'd her Death with Tears flowing from the bottom of their Hearts; a just Debt to the Merit of *Octavia*, which call'd for another sort of Destiny.



SABINA POPPÆA,

NERO'S Second Consort.



HERE is no Excess, but the Thirst of Dominion will run Men into. It violates the most sacred Laws; snaps the strongest Bands asunder; and inspires the Worst of Crimes, to compass its Ends. The History of *Sabina Poppæa* furnishes Instances of all these grievous Disorders; for had she not been ambitious, she would not have sully'd her Honour by so many Prostitutions; she would not have turn'd her Marriages into Ridicule; she would not have persecuted the innocent *Octavia*; neither would she have made *Nero* dip his Hands in his Mother's Blood.

* She was Daughter to *Titus Ollius*, who had discharged the Office of Quæstor, and would have been advanced to higher Employments, † had he not been involv'd in *Sejanus's* Misfortunes; whose Friendship, after his Fall, was as fatal to those who were Sharers in it, as his Hatred

* *Sueton.*
in Ner.

† *Tacit.*
Annal. 13.

infamous *Nero* being then actually engaged in his own Ruin, by his abominable Course of Life, divided between monstrous Pleasures and unparallel'd Cruelties.

But *Octavia* had not the Pleasure to see such a happy Turn of Fortune. Scarce was she arrived in the Place of her Exile, when Warning was given her to prepare for Death. The poor Princess shudder'd at the News. She protested, that as she had been repudiated by her Husband, she did not desire to be look'd upon as his Wife, but renounced that Quality in favour of *Poppæa*; and therefore they might safely let her live, because she would no ways pretend to interrupt her Rival's Happiness. She was content, she said, to pass for the Emperor's Sister; and as such, could be no Obstacle to *Sabina's* Views. She invoked *Germanicus*, from whom she was descended, as well as the Emperor; and call'd in *Agrippina* to her Aid, who, tho' she had persecuted her, and was the original Cause of her Misfortunes, had always used her with less Cruelty than this: But all her Complaints, her Sighs, and her Tears could not move Pity in the Breasts of those who had undertaken her Murder. They bound her, and open'd her Veins; and because the Blood ran but slowly and with Difficulty, occasion'd by the Princess's Fear of Death, they suffocated her in a Bath, and with her the Beauty, the Vertues, and the Graces of the best Empress that ever sprung from the Blood of the (g) *Cæsars*.

Octavia's Death put an end to *Poppæa's* Jealousy, but not to her Cruelty. Not content with having sacrificed that illustrious Victim, she sent for her Head. An Object so worthy of Compassion, was to her an agreeable Sight.

(g) *Octavia* was murder'd | that very day six Years after,
upon the 11th of June; and | *Nero* kill'd himself.

She

She regaled her sanguinary Eyes with it; and Rome beheld the Head of the finest Princess that ever graced the Throne of its Empire in the Hands of an infamous Prostitute. The People were under a prodigious deal of Concern at the dismal Fate of this unfortunate Empress, and honour'd her Death with Tears flowing from the bottom of their Hearts; a just Debt to the Merit of *Octavia*, which call'd for another sort of Destiny.



SABINA POPPÆA,

NERO'S Second Consort.



HERE is no Excess, but the Thirst of Dominion will run Men into. It violates the most sacred Laws; snaps the strongest Bands asunder; and inspires the Worst of Crimes, to compass its Ends. The History of *Sabina Poppæa* furnishes Instances of all these grievous Disorders; for had she not been ambitious, she would not have fully'd her Honour by so many Prostitutions; she would not have turn'd her Marriages into Ridicule; she would not have persecuted the innocent *Octavia*; neither would she have made *Nero* dip his Hands in his Mother's Blood.

* She was Daughter to *Titus Ollius*, who had discharged the Office of Quæstor, and would have been advanced to higher Employs, † had he not been involv'd in *Sejanus's* Misfortunes; whose Friendship, after his Fall, was as fatal to those who were Sharers in it, as his Hatred

* *Sueton. in Ner.*

† *Tacit. Annal. 13.*

had been to such as incurr'd it during his Prosperity. Her Mother was the famous *Poppæa*, whose Beauty and Gallantry made such a Noise in *Claudius's* Reign.

Sabina Poppæa chose rather to take the Name of her Grand-Father by the Mother's side, than that of her Father; her Vanity prompting her to this Preference, because it was accounted the most honourable. For, tho' *Sabinus* not did come of a very illustrious Family, and was a Gentleman of but a moderate Capacity; yet he had always the Art of keeping himself in the Emperors Good-Graces, who conferr'd Commands upon him, either at the Head of Armies, where * he did enough to merit the Honour of a Triumph and the Consulate; or in the Government of Provinces, where he spent Part of his Life in continual Fears and Alarms upon account of the Informers, to whom *Tiberius's* Ear was always open; till at last, to prevent the Effects of their Malice, he † rashly made away with himself, as if he would thereby put a Trick upon Fortune, whose Frowns he dreaded.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 6.

† *Dio,*
lib. 58.

Poppæa enjoy'd all the Advantages of Nature, except Modesty. She was without Dispute the finest Person in the Empire, if not in the Universe. Her Beauty was such, as struck at once, and captivated the Heart. She had a lovely and engaging Look; every Feature of her Face was delicate and regular, and set off with the Lustre of smiling Youth. Her Air was soft and endearing, and perfectly becoming her. She had such a graceful Manner of talking, and a Voice so musical and bewitching, that she never spoke but she charm'd her Hearers. Her Carriage was free and gay; and her Conversation brighten'd with continual Gleams of Fire and Vivacity. In a word, a thousand Charms adorn'd her whole Person, which she did not fail to display by her
curious

curious Way of dressing, wherein she had abundance of pretty Fancies. Thus, had her Vertue been comparable to her Beauty, *Poppæa* would have been the most accomplish'd Person in the World. But whether the wicked Example of her Mother had shed its baleful Influence upon her Heart, and pointed out to her the loose and disorderly Courses she pursued; whether she was naturally inclined to Debauchery; or, which is most likely, that Ambition was the true Cause of her Excesses; certain it is, she abandon'd herself to a Vicious Life, and turn'd her Beauty to such vile and criminal Purposes, that, as an * Historian * *Tacit. Annal. 14.* says, she made no Difference between her Husbands and Adulterers. Her Duty and Reputation were never put in the Scale with her Ambition; the Desire of being Great stifled in her all Sentiments of Honour; and she sacrificed to her Vanity the Advantages both of Body and Mind, whenever she thought they would forward her Promotion. But after all, she had Wit enough to appear every where with Discretion, and was so far Mistress of it, as to make it subservient to all sorts of Characters; so that she could act the Part of a Prude, as naturally as that of a Coquet.

She pass'd her younger Days under her Mother's Roof, which was to her a School of Lewdness and Debauchery. Here she receiv'd the first Homage of the *Beaux*, that crowded to pay it to her Beauty, whose powerful Charms it was impossible to resist. At first, indeed, she receiv'd her Admirers with an Air of Coldness and Indifference; she seem'd unwilling to shew the Force of her Charms, and convers'd but little: † She seldom appear'd in publick; and when she went abroad, wore a Veil that cover'd Half her Face, whether she had a Fancy for it, or whether by the Beauty of what appear'd she would create a Desire of seeing the rest: But this cruel Re-

† *Xiphilin. in Ner.*

serve, this affected Modesty, did by no means agree with her Temper or her Views; she soon began to shew the Truth of her Wanton Humour, uncover'd the other Half of her Face, and receiv'd indifferently the Odours of Flattery from all Quarters. In short, her House was open to all Comers.

* Senec.
in Oct.
Sueton.
in Ner.

Poppæa had too many Charms, to want Admirers. *Rufus Crispinus* was one of the most assiduous; and * made her so sensible of his Affection, that she resolv'd to reward it by Marriage. From these Nuptials sprung the young *Crispinus*, afterward put to Death by *Nero*, for Reasons no less ridiculous than (a) unjust. For the rest, *Sabina's* Marriage proved no Restraint upon her Liberty. *Crispinus* being exceedingly fond of her, and knowing that she had always done what she pleas'd, had the Complaisance, like a good-humour'd Husband, to permitt all the Gentlemen of Figure in *Rome* to come and pay the Tribute of Praise and Flattery she was wont to receive before Marriage. At *Poppæa's* there was daily a polite and magnificent Court, where she was continually inclosed within a Circle of fawning Admirers, who exerted themselves in offering Incense to her Charms. Her House was the Rendezvous for Sports, Pastimes, and Diversions; and here she found constant Exercise for her Good-Humour; for she would never suffer Conversation to flag, but return'd agreeable Answers to all the Fine things that were said to her. However, *Crispinus* soon perceiv'd, that this Complaisance of his was of dangerous Consequence.

(a) Young *Crispinus* playing one day with other Children suitable to his Age, made a Play wherein he acted the Part of a King. This being told to *Nero*, he look'd upon it as an Omen that the Sovereignty would in Time devolve upon *Crispinus*; and grew so jealous upon it, that he cruelly order'd the poor Child to be cast headlong into the Sea, as he was diverting himself with Angling.

He

He found by woful Experience, that those labour'd Compliments, which came as from Friends only, were often the Product of Lovers Brains; and that those Diversions and Pleasures in which his Spouse took such a particular Delight, and the Familiarities she indulged, were many times the unhappy Forerunners of Conjugal Fidelity's approaching Bankruptcy.

Of all the Courtiers that paid *Poppæa* constant Visits, *Otho* was the most remarkable. That young Gentleman, who descended from one of the chief Families in *Rome*, beside the Gracefulness of his Person, had the Advantage of *Nero's* particular Favour. Being the constant Companion of his Debaucheries, the Witness of his Follies, and the Depositary of his Secrets, he could ask nothing but it was granted: And thus he became the Canal of all the Emperor's Benefits. A Man might promise himself Success in any Affair, when *Otho* undertook to speak to *Nero*, of whose Heart he seem'd to be sole Master. Standing therefore so well at Court, 'tis no Wonder his Endeavours on behalf of *Poppæa* were attended with Success, and that he found means to insinuate himself with a Lady who had great Designs in View.

* He was always racking his Wit in Commenda-
tion of her Beauty; seldom went to her House without loading himself with Presents; and hardly ever left it without Marks of his Prodigality, which in *Sabina's* Judgment pass'd for Generosity and Greatness of Soul. Thus his extravagant Expences being accompany'd with the most polite and gallant Manners, † that artful Courtier so managed Affairs, that his Assiduity made *Poppæa* sensible, and his Liberality render'd her grateful.

Tacit. Annal. 13.

† *Plinius, lib. 19. c. 3.*

There is no Clew that leads so surely and directly to most Womens Hearts, as that of Presents. It is a Rock upon which their strongest Resolutions often split; and their Vertue must

be good Proof, who can avoid being wreck'd upon this Sea. A rich and generous Lover has great Advantages to gain Returns of Affection. He leaps upon his Prize at once; while others, with their Birth, and Parts, and Merit, have a long Way to go before they reach the Goal. There are few *Danaë's*, who shut their Bosoms against a Shower of Gold. *Poppæa*, loaded with *Otho's* fine Presents, thought it would be unpardonable in her, not to answer a Passion so tender, and so generous. Beside, the great Figure and Interest of this Courtier were a Sting to the Ambition of that haughty Lady. She soon form'd a thousand Projects of Grandeur upon that of *Otho*: Her Head ran altogether upon that Favourite's high Fortune. His fair deluding Promises put her Views upon the Stretch, and made her frame to herself an Idea of the happy'st Destiny in the World. All her Thoughts are now turn'd upon *Otho*; *Crispinus* is become insupportable to her; he is insipid: She is unfaithful; and from Infidelity and Dislike proceeding to Contempt, she at last quits him entirely, to be altogether at *Otho's* Service.

* *Plutarc.*
Tacit.
Hist. 1.

When first this *Roman* began to make his Addresses to *Poppæa*, his private Satisfaction was not the Main thing he had in View. * 'Tis certain, that *Nero* was not insensible of that Lady's Charms; but the little Respect he still retain'd for his Mother, who had made such a Noise about his Amour with *Acte*, obliging him to keep Measures, he entrusted *Otho*, the Partner of all his Pleasures, to negotiate his Affair with *Poppæa*. But as it is difficult not to prevaricate in Commissions of this sort, which put the Fidelity of the Agents to such sharp and delicate Trials; *Otho* fell vehemently in Love with *Crispinus's* Wife; and whether he thought *Nero* did not trouble himself about this Conquest, being then
much

much taken with *Acte*; whether he was glad to have *Poppæa* to himself; or that he judg'd it conducive to his Fortune to have her in his Power, to make use of in a proper Time and Place to rivet himself in *Nero's* Favour, by making him a Surrender of the charming *Sabina*; he marry'd her, as we have observ'd.

No sooner was he possess'd of this fair Prize, but he fancy'd himself the happy'st Man upon Earth. He was so enchanted with her Beauty, that he was continually crying it up where-ever he came; and particularly before the Emperor he would be descanting upon her Features, her lovely Air, her easy Manner, her sparkling Eye, and the Agreeableness of her whole Person; not forgetting to extoll his own † Happiness above all other Mens, as Possessor of the finest Woman in the Empire. These pompous Encomiums, which *Otho*, either out of excessive Love, or refined Politicks, was always repeating of his Spouse, excited *Nero's* Curiosity; and as he had not a perfect Knowledge of *Poppæa*, he was desirous to judge for himself whether his Friend *Otho* had not been partial in his Account. He got a Sight of *Poppæa* therefore, and finding her Charms to exceed all that had been said of them, he immediately surrender'd himself her Prisoner.

Poppæa, who carry'd her Views beyond what-ever *Otho* could imagine, took Advantage, like a cunning Woman, of her Husband's false Step. She remark'd the Effect her Beauty had upon the Emperor's Heart; and not doubting, but if she could make this Conquest, the vastest Designs that her Ambition had ever form'd, were answer'd at once; she resolv'd to set about this Work of Usurpation in good earnest. All her Attractives were employ'd upon this Occasion; and they were the more dangerous, in regard of their mighty Strength. Tender and engaging

Looks, languishing Airs, magnificent Garments; in short, every thing that could tempt *Nero's* Passion, was put in Practice, and took Effect. For as she had a wonderful Address in rendering herself Amiable to any Person she had a mind, it was no hard matter, especially considering how well her Snares were laid, to entangle a Prince, whose Heat of Youth made him incapable of Circumspection or Reserve. Neither, in Truth, did he maintain a Combat of one single Moment against Charms so very alluring. He imputed *Sabina's* dissembled Shew of 'Tenderness to a real Inclination; and grew so strangely enamour'd, that he could not live without her.

Nero's Affiduity in Love fill'd *Otho* with the cruel'st Alarms; for his Passion had, as it were, changed its Nature, since he became *Poppæa's* Husband; so that he could not endure the Thought of sharing her with *Nero*. He repented his having inconsiderately rais'd up a Competitor, the more formidable because he would never be cross'd in his Pleasures. It is dangerous to have one's Prince and Master for a Rival, against whom one dares not take all Advantages, but his Amour leaves a Man this only Remedy, to sit down patiently, and acquiesce. However, as mortifying as such a Situation may seem, *Otho* was forced to take up with it; whereupon his Heart was seiz'd with a corroding Grief, which shewing itself in his Countenance, was soon observ'd by *Poppæa*.

'Tis not question'd, but her Affection for *Otho* was sincere; but the Splendor of the Throne fill'd her Brain with more Elevated and Agreeable Ideas, than her Love could furnish. Ambition was her only Mistress; *Nero* was nothing to her; it was not his Person she admired. His Fortune was the Prey she catch'd at; and the Conquest she sought over that Prince's Heart, was not so much for the Glory of the Triumph,
as

as to improve it to her Grandeur and Authority, by making him purchase her Favours at the Price of Empire. Nevertheless, as she was not sure of this vast Success, she did not care to throw off *Otho* entirely, that he might stand her Friend in case of a Default. With this View, she try'd a shrewd and politick Experiment; namely, by affecting a greater Reserve than ordinary; which, she rightly judg'd, would cure *Otho* of his Jealousy, and at the same time be a powerful Incentive to the Emperor's Passion: For she was not to learn, that Distaste in Love is very often the Effect of too great a Facility in obtaining Favours, which are rated in proportion to the Difficulty of coming at them; that Love is sometimes lost in the Fruition; and that *Nero* who was naturally fickle, might alter his Affection, if he met with too forward a Return.

This Design was artfully managed. *Poppaea*, whose Temper was supple enough to serve any Purpose whatever, began to act the Prude, under the Colour of Dislike to her former Conduct. She does all she can to avoid being alone with *Nero*, or indeed of being long in his Company upon any Terms. A precarious Modesty and strict Reserve succeed to her wonted Gaiety and free Deportment: Not an Expression drops from her, but what favours of the Grave and Serious: She guards herself in the most minute and indifferent Actions: In a word, she shews, upon all Occasions, such an austere Regularity, that *Nero* happening to visit her one Evening when *Otho* was gone out, she bluntly refused him Entrance, and told him, * that it were a Crime * *Plutarc.* in her to rob *Octavia* of her Husband's Heart; *in Galb.* that she had very particular Reasons to be faithful to *Otho*, who had nothing but what favour'd of the Prince, either in his Person, his Carriage, or his Inclinations; whereas he, † being scandal- † *Tacit.* lously wrapt up in a miserable Concubine, had *Annal. 13.* nothing

nothing about him, nor in his Person, but what was tainted with the Meanness of *Acte's* servile Condition; so that in short he had nothing Great but his Dignity: That for her part, she was marry'd to *Otho*, and would not give her Husband Cause to dissolve a Marriage, which he had render'd so extremely dear to her by his engaging Manner, that *Nero* with all his Sovereignty could not make her half so happy.

Poppæa could not have hit upon a Conduct more delicate and ensnaring; and thus was the Bait too cunningly laid for *Nero* not to be taken. Her feign'd Reserve kindled a greater Flame in the Emperor's Breast, than all the Favours she had shewn him: But this Artifice had like to have cost *Otho* his Life; for *Nero* imagining that *Poppæa's* Carriage to him was not so alter'd without *Otho's* particular Order, whom he look'd upon as the Depositary, rather than the Husband, of that fine *Roman* Lady, he was so enraged at him, that to the first Suggestions of his Passion he promis'd no less, than to sacrifice the Man who was the Occasion of it. He cast off immediately all the Affection he had borne him, deprived him of

* *Plutarc.* his Confidence and Familiarity, and * had made him feel the most dismal Effects of his Resentment, had he not been hinder'd by *Seneca's* Intreaties. That Philosopher, who was always endeavouring to correct the Impetuosity of *Nero's* furious Temper by moderate Counsels, and, by the way, was *Otho's* good Friend, represented to the Emperor, who till then was very ready to hear him, that so glaring a Revenge could not but make a great Noise in the World, and would convince the Publick of the true Cause of *Otho's* Disgrace, which it was by no means proper they should know; whereas there were other ways to get rid of his Uneasiness upon account of that Favourite, now become his Rival, than by proceeding to such

Extre-

Extremities; for he need only remove him at a Distance from *Rome*, to visit *Poppæa* without a Partner. *Nero* having probably some Remains of Friendship for a Man to whom he had so long deliver'd himself up entirely and without Reserve, especially in all his private Debauches, insomuch that he might be said to have given him the Key of his Heart, approved of the Expedient propos'd to him by his Preceptor. He constituted *Otho* Governor of *Lusitania*, and by that means procur'd to himself the Pleasure of seeing *Poppæa* without the Fear of a Rival.

Otho may justly be styl'd the Artificer of his own Misery. What in his Reckoning should have contributed to the Preservation of his Fortune, had like to have cost him his Life; and he found himself under a necessity to quit *Rome* and *Poppæa* both, and to repair to *Lusitania*, full of Grief and Jealousy; well knowing that tho' his Removal was colour'd over with the glorious Name of a Government, yet it was in Truth no better than a rigorous Exile. So true it is, that a Man ought not always to rely upon the Friendship of the Great; because there is very little Strength in the Bands wherewith they are bound, especially when Crimes have tied the Knot.

However, *Otho* made a Vertue of Necessity, and turn'd his Disgrace into the High Road to Preferment. * He behaved in his Government with so much Wisdom and Moderation, as quite effaced the Remembrance of his former Excesses, and bury'd in dark Oblivion the bad Impressions which his Lewdness and Debauchery had made in Peoples Minds. On the other hand, † the Exaetness and Regularity of his Conduct, his Integrity and Moderation gain'd him a very high Esteem, and so well secured to him the Hearts both of the People and Soldiery, that they after-ward

* Sueton.
in Othon.
Plutarch.
in Othon.

† Tacit.
Annal. 13.
Histor. 1.

ward declared for him, and advanced him to the Empire.

Nero, having thus got rid of his Rival, left no Stone unturn'd to recover his Mistress's Favour, and his own Felicity. He was always paying his Compliments and Respects to her, and stooping to the vilest Submissions, as a Proof of his entire Surrender and Captivity. He was continually carrying Presents to the haughty *Poppæa*; broke off all Commerce with *Acte*, of whom she had some Jealousy; and to the rest of his Largeesses added a Promise of Marriage. This was the very Point that subtle Woman would be at; this, the ultimate End of her Ambition. She did not so much value *Nero's* Love, as his Dignity; she had a mind to share the Throne with him; and there was nothing too hard for her to attempt, to forward the Success of that temerarious Project. She would not confide altogether in the Charms of her Beauty, but * gave Encouragement to Soothsayers and such Persons to frequent her House, and consulted them in all her secret and important Affairs. But two great Obstacles lay in the way of this fine Project; to wit, *Agrippina's* Authority, and *Octavia's* Marriage. A Man might indeed think these should have appear'd insurmountable to her; but Ambition is not easily repulsed. It is a Passion which Nothing can balk, Nothing can discountenance: So adventurous, that Nothing is too hard, or too bold for it to undertake: So insatiable, that its Desires increase with its Honours; and the Homage it receives, instead of satisfying, serves only as an Incentive to new Achievements: In a word, so jealous, that it can neither bear Superior nor Equal; but every thing that exceeds or even counterpoises its Authority, is exposed to the Effects of its Fury and Repentment.

* *Tacit.*
Histor. 1.
cap. 22.

Poppæa,

Poppæa, to do her Justice, did not stain her Hands with the Blood of those who stood in the way of her Advancement; but she was nevertheless answerable for their unhappy Fate, because she was the only Cause of it. * No sooner ^{* Dio, lib. 61.} had she got the Mastery of *Nero's* infatuated Temper, but she apply'd herself to the Ruin of those, who by their Rank, or Influence, or Authority, could obstruct the Success of her ambitious Views. Sometimes she would set the Emperor against his Mother, by filling his Head with I know not what Jealousies and Suspicions, and magnifying the Extent of her Power, which she made him almost dread, by telling him *Agrippina* would never rest till she had made herself absolute and independent. Sometimes she made him believe that Princess had ill Designs against him, because under the Notion of having given him the Empire, she claim'd a Right (she said) of taking it from him whenever she pleas'd. At other times she incens'd the Emperor against *Octavia*, by insinuating the foulest Calumnies to her Prejudice, and accusing her of caballing against him, and alienating the Affections of his Subjects. Lastly, she † nettled him with the most † ^{† Tacit. Annal. 14.} provoking Language, reproaching him, that instead of enjoying the Empire, and giving Laws to others, he was more a Subject than any of his Subjects; nay, that his Submission was not like the Respect and Duty of a Son, but the Dependence of a Slave; and that all the World look'd upon him as *Agrippina's* Pupil, who carry'd herself as his Guardian. " For, to be plain with
 " you, Sir, said she, giving him a tender Look, and
 " shedding a few Tears of Dissimulation, What Reason
 " can you have to deferr the Accomplish-
 " ment of our Marriage, if it is true that you
 " are your own Master? What Pretence can
 " Men find, that should reasonably hinder you
 from

“ from marrying me? Do they alledge any De-
 “ fect in my Person? Is not my Beauty to com-
 “ pare with any others? Or is it not worthy of
 “ your Affection? Will they urge that my Birth
 “ is not answerable to your high Rank? And
 “ have they not seen my Family in Possession of
 “ the first Dignity in the Republick? Are there
 “ not to be found, in my Family, the same Mo-
 “ numents of Glory, which make the Grandeur
 “ and Magnificence of the principal Families in
 “ Rome, the *Fasces* of the Consulate, and the
 “ Laurels of a (b) Triumph? Are there not to
 “ found, among my Ancestors, Generals who de-
 “ serv’d well of the Empire, and whose Services
 “ were thought worthy of noble Rewards? But,
 “ Sir, I should rather ask, *continued she*, is not
 “ *Agrippina* apprehensive that my Advancement
 “ would be a Curb upon her Pride and inordi-
 “ nate Ambition; and that the firm Adherence
 “ to your Interests, which our Marriage must
 “ necessarily engage me to, would oblige me to
 “ lay open to you her wicked Designs, expose to
 “ the Senate and People all the Injuries she has
 “ done them, and trace the Footsteps of her
 “ insatiable Avarice? If your Majesty’s Mother,
 “ being us’d to govern you, cannot bear my
 “ living happily with you, Restore me, I beseech

(b) We have already ob-
 serv’d, that the Consuls had
Lictors to walk before them;
 and that these *Lictors* carry’d
Fasces, or Bundles of Rods
 tied up with an Axe, as a Badge
 of the Consuls Power and Au-
 thority. The other Magistrates
 had also a certain Number of
Lictors; and when several Ma-
 gistrates of different Degrees
 happen’d to meet, the *Lictors* of
 the Inferior Magistrate lower’d
 their *Fasces* by way of Salute
 to the Superior Magistrate.

We shall in the subsequent
 Pages take Notice of the
 Crowns they granted to Me-
 rit. Those who had had the
 Honour of a Triumph, were
 permitted to wear in Publick
 Assemblies the Crowns given
 them for their Triumphs;
 which they never fail’d to do,
 because they were so many
 glorious Monuments of their
 Valour, and of the Services
 they had done the Repub-
 lick.

“ you,

“ you, to my Husband ; Send me home to *Otho*.
 “ I will go and seek him in the most distant
 “ Corners of the Earth. There, remote from the
 “ inevitable Dangers to which I see you exposed,
 “ and wherein, as Sharer of your Fortune, I must
 “ certainly be involv’d, it will be less grating
 “ and painful to me to hear of the Insults of-
 “ fer’d to my Emperor, than to be the sad
 “ Spectator of them.

These cutting Sarcasms, enforced with enough of Art, made the stronger Impression upon *Nero’s* Mind, in regard *Poppæa* was back’d in her Designs by the Courtiers about the Emperor’s Person ; who, perceiving their Authority almost swallow’d up by that of *Agrippina*, were glad to set up *Poppæa’s* Interest as a sort of Barrier against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Empress-Mother ; but were not, at the long run, for *Nero’s* carrying his Resentment so far as to murder her, which we have observ’d he did. But such is the deplorable Weakness of almost all those who are possess’d with the Devil of inordinate and forbidden Love. Blinded with that enchanting Passion, which seduces their Will at the same time that it seizes their Heart, they find themselves under the fatal Incapacity of refusing any thing to the Objects of their Flames, and rashly subscribe to whatever they demand, without Thought or Consideration, without Regard to the dearest Ties of Blood, without Possibility of the Voice of Nature itself to restrain them.

The haughty *Poppæa* having accomplish’d the Ruin of the Empress *Agrippina*, of whose Power she was so jealous, had now nothing to do but to persecute *Octavia*, the only remaining Obstacle to her Marriage with *Nero*. As she had a wonderful Talent for Gallantry, she try’d every Stratagem in Love, to enflame the Emperor’s Heart ; and herein she succeeded so well, that *Nero* perfectly

fectly idolized her, and was no longer able to deny her any thing she ask'd. Thus *Octavia* was repudiated, and banish'd to an Island; soon after which, he marry'd *Poppæa*, of whom he may more properly be said to have been bewitch'd, than enamour'd.

The Populace, who generally fall in with the Reasons of the Prince, without examining into the Justice of them, do by that means often-times give a Sanction to his Vices. Hence Statues were immediately erected to this new Empress; and by that servile Work of Flattery, the Approbation of the *Romans* was injuriously stamp'd upon *Nero's* scandalous Marriage, and consequently upon *Octavia's* cruel Banishment; and *Poppæa* being at last advanced to the Throne of the Empire, which had cost her so many Sighs and Vows, now turn'd her Thoughts to the quiet Enjoyment of her new Dignity: But her Triumph lasted no longer than *Octavia's* Exile, and the Scene was very soon changed with regard to those two Ladies. The People, whose Temper is always variable and capricious, had no sooner made Reflexion upon *Octavia's* Banishment, and the Wrongs done to that poor Princess, the last Remains of the Blood of the *Cæsars*; but they began to murmur at her unjust Exile, and to call aloud for the immediate Return of *Claudius's* Daughter. The City was all in Confusion, and made such Complaints as reach'd the Emperor's Ears; whereupon, dreading the Consequences of the general Discontent, he pretended to be sorry for what he had done, and sent for her home.

The News of the unfortunate *Octavia's* Return caus'd an universal Joy at *Rome*. People of all Ranks went out to meet that illustrious Exile; and every Countenance was elate upon this happy Occasion. They made Rejoicings so much the more mortifying to *Poppæa*, in regard they threw
down

down her Statues before her Face, and trampled them under Foot, with all possible Contempt; while those of *Octavia* were repair'd and carry'd in Triumph about the Streets. But these Marks of Affection, which the People, in their Excess of Zeal, shew'd for that Princess, did but hasten her Death. *Poppæa*, piqued in the most sensible Part of her Pride, was inconsolable upon the Indignities offer'd to her Statues. It was the most heinous Affront that could be put upon her. She drew Inferences from it, little favourable to her Designs; for she did not doubt but the Inclination of the *Romans* was for *Octavia*; and thence concluding she could never be safe upon the Throne, so long as that Princess liv'd; that *Nero*, who she knew was for chiming it with the Humours of the People, might be tired with their Solicitations and Intreaties, and in the end open his Eyes to the barbarous Treatment he had given his lawful and innocent Wife, who brought him the Empire: From such Reflexions as these, she inferr'd the Necessity of making a speedy Sacrifice of that poor Princess.

To work *Nero* up to this Resolution, she employ'd the Force of her Charms, and the Depth of her Politicks. She cunningly blended her own Interest and that of the Emperor together; she magnify'd *Octavia's* Power, her Credit with the People, her evil Designs; and, to prepare the Emperor to receive any Impressions she would have him, she assured him that this Commotion of the People was in Truth a Revolt against their Prince. She enforced the Lustre of her Beauty with the secret Charm her Voice was always found to have in the Persuasive Faculty; and assuming a dejected Look, she went and threw herself at *Nero's* Feet, where, with Eyes full of Tears, and in that Posture which heighten'd the Amiability of her Person, she

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address'd

address'd him with the most tender and moving Air, as follows: "That as desirous as she was to preserve indissolubly the Bands of a Marriage which render'd her the Emperor's inseparable Companion, and so was the highest Honour she could aspire at; yet she did not now appear there, to pray him not to break it. No, Sir, *said she*, that is not the Favour I am come to beg of you; but 'tis my Life that I would put under your Majesty's Protection. *Octavia's* seditious Party, arrogating to themselves the plausible Name of the People, have ventur'd to do that in the midst of Peace, which they durst not have undertaken in a Time of War. These Arms, Sir, if you will but consider a little, are taken up against you. They want only a Head, which *Octavia's* Caball will soon furnish them. * For in short, Sir, if 'tis only my Life they are in Pursuit of, what have I done to deserve Death? What Crime, what Injury has *Poppæa* committed? Whom has she had the Misfortune to displease? Are the People angry with her, because she can bring the Emperor lawful Heirs? Had *Rome* rather see upon the Throne of its Empire the infamous Posterity of a wretched Piper?" meaning *Eucor*, to whom *Nero*, by the foulest of Calumnies, had accused *Octavia* of having prostituted herself.

"But your Majesty's Interest, *continued the Enchantress*, is too dear to me, not to be prefer'd to my own Satisfaction. If I give Umbrage to any Person; or plainly, if you will make the People your Master, do not stay till they oblige you to recall *Octavia*; but take her home with a good Grace, and without being forced by the brutish Authority of an insolent Mobb. Yours and the Publick Interest ought to be consulted preferably to my private Advantage. Resign me to the Emolument

* Tacit.

Annal. 14.

“ lument of the State, or rather to the Publick
“ *Odium*. Having already been the unhappy Ob-
“ ject of *Agrippina's* Fury, and of *Octavia's* Re-
“ venge, I shall readily submit to be *Rome's* Sa-
“ crifice, if the Interest of the Rēpublick calls
“ me to it: Or, else, Sir, if your Majesty will
“ not suffer a head-strong Multitude, made up
“ of vile mutinous wretches, to impose Laws
“ upon you; if you have a mind to let them
“ see that you are Master; if, in short, you
“ have the least Spark of Goodness left for
“ *Poppæa*, secure her Life by punishing those that
“ threaten it. You will find it very easy to pre-
“ vent such Disturbances, *Octavia* being the only
“ Cause of them: 'Tis but depriving them of
“ all Hopes of taking her home again, and the
“ People will soon be putting you upon marry-
“ ing another Wife.”

Never was Slander dress'd up in better Colours: Never was Falshood insinuated with more specious Marks of Truth. *Nero* was caught in *Poppæa's* Snares: He listen'd attentively to her framed Discourse; and she spoke it so movingly, and with so much Art, that the Emperor believ'd every Word she said. The Story of *Octavia's* pretended Caball gave him some Alarm: As weak and impotent as that Princess was, he was afraid of her; for *Poppæa* had so cunningly wrought up her Arguments with the Denunciation of certain and imminent Danger, that that Prince, imagining his Life was at Stake, if he did not put an End to *Octavia's*, took the cruel Resolution that she should die. After the Guilt of Parricide, the greatest of Crimes cannot be supposed to stick with him; nor the least Scruple concerning the Murder of his Wife, after having dipt his impious Hands in the Blood of his Mother. *Octavia* being dispatch'd therefore, *Poppæa* was eas'd of her Jealousy; and concluding

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ding that her Dominion was now secured, and her Marriage confirm'd, she cast about how to be revenged upon those who had obstructed her Designs, and to reward with her Favours those that had stood her Friends. *Doriphorus*, Steward of the Emperor's Household, lost his Life for having taken the Freedom to express his Dislike of his Master's Passion for *Sabina*; and * *Gessius Florus*, on the contrary, because he was *Cleopatra's* Husband, who had always been firm to *Poppæa*, was made Governor of *Judæa*; *Nero* lying under an Incapacity to deny any thing to this Lady, who kept him in a sort of Captivity, and of whom he was so enamour'd, that he could see nothing in her but what merited his Adoration. Being such an Admirer of *Poppæa's* Beauty, of which she had also a very good Opinion herself, he was incessantly crying it up in the most extravagant manner. He would even exert his Talent in magnifying the least of her Charms; and † *Plinius*, † took the Pains to make Verses upon the Beauty of her Hair, which he said was the Colour of Amber. It is agreed, that *Poppæa* was a finish'd Beauty; but then it must be remember'd, no Woman ever took more Care to cultivate it. § She spared neither Cost nor Pains to preserve it in the Lustre which attracted so many Admirers. Beside the prodigious Sums lavish'd in the Composition of her particular Washes and Paints, which this Emperor brought in Fashion; ‡ she had five hundred She-Asses, that had newly foal'd, kept with a great deal of Care, to be || milk'd every Morning for her to bathe in, because they had a Notion that Asses Milk was endued with an excellent Quality to preserve the Skin smooth and white, and free from Wrinkles, those grievous Attendants upon Age: And * where-ever she removed her Court, it was constantly attended by that long-ear'd Train.

Her

* *Joseph.*
Ant. Jud.
lib. 20.

† *Plinius,*
Hist. Nat.
lib. 17. c. 3.

§ *Id. ibid.*
lib. 11. c. 41.
& lib. 28. c. 12.

‡ *Juvenal.*
Sat. 6.

|| *Plinius,*
lib. 38. c. 11.
Juvenal.
Sat. 6.

* *Xiphilin.*
in Ner.

Her Variety of Dresses also, and the Glittering of her Jewels, gave an additional Brilliant to the Fineness of her Features. She was continually parading it in the richest new Habits that were to be had, which gave her a Turn of Gallantry, as well as of Pride. Her Furniture was extremely nice and delicate; and her Equipage proportionably magnificent. The Mules that carry'd her Litter, were sumptuously harness'd; and instead of being shod with Iron, as they commonly are, hers had Shooes of Gold. * Their very * *Plinius;* Straps and Traces were made of Gold Wire; *lib. 33. c. 11.* and she never appear'd in publick, without these gaudy Ensigns of Pride and Vanity. Never was Luxury carry'd to such a Height. As she had nothing so much at Heart as the Desire to please, she did every thing with Affectation. She was continually at her Looking-Glass, to adjust the Situation of her Features, as well as of her Garb: And 'tis reported, that one day the vain *Poppæa* not thinking herself handsome enough, and with Grief foreseeing the sad, but necessary and inevitable Decline of her Charms, which the fatal Laws of Time would not indulge, she † fell into † *Xiphilin.* a violent Agony, and implored the Gods that she *in Ner.* might die before she was old.

Tho' it is certain that *Poppæa* did not make the best Use of her Beauty, yet she always affected a great deal of outward Modesty. She observ'd a Regularity of Conduct, which might easily deceive; and it was doubtless on the Credit of these exterior Shews of Vertue, that *Josephus* wrote an Encomium upon that Empress: Unless we would rather take it to be a Tribute of Thanks for the many Obligations which *Poppæa* had laid upon that illustrious Jew, in honouring him several times with her Protection, when he had not only the Interest of the Prime Courtiers to strug-

gle with, but had even Kings for his Antagonists; as in the Case of *Felix*.

This Gentleman was Brother to *Pallas*, so famous for his Credit and Authority in the Reign of *Claudius*, who was absolutely govern'd by him; and for his immense Riches, collected by dint of the cruel'st Extorsion, which afterward precipitated his fatal End. *Felix* was sent Governor to *Judæa*; where, confiding in his Brother's Interest at Court, * he behaved very haughtily in his Office, and shew'd all the brutish Pride that too often intoxicates Men suddenly rais'd by Fortune to the highest Honours and Employes, from which the Meanness of their Birth would have kept them at an infinite Distance. Thus, to give People some Idea of his Power, that they might know what they had to trust to, † he caus'd several Priests to be loaded with Chains upon some slender Occasion, and sent them to *Rome* to be try'd. *Baronius* takes these Priests to be the same *Jews* who made a Vow that they would neither eat nor drink till they had slain *S. Paul*.

* *Tacit.*
Annal. 12.

† *Baron.*
ad Annal.
Neron. 2.
Act. xxiii.

King *Agrippa*, whose Father had borne so great a Sway at *Rome*, finding himself interested in this Affair, chimed in with *Felix*; and these Two employ'd their Credit at Court with such Success, that the Accused were strictly confined in Prison, without much Enquiry into the Merits of their Cause. *Josephus*, being their Friend, and well knowing the Innocency of the Men, resolv'd to go and solicit in their behalf. He embarks, and § accidentally upon his Route, falls into Company of *Aliturus*, a Jew by Nation, and Farce-Player by Profession; a Man mightily caress'd by *Nero*, (who sometimes took Delight in appearing upon the Stage with such sort of People) and no less in the Good-Graces of the Empress. *Josephus*, who was a Person of Quality, and of great Consideration among the

§ *Joseph.*
in vit. sua.

the *Jews*, easily engaged this Comedian in his Interests, who was indeed proud of the Opportunity of serving one of his own Nation, and of *Josephus's* Merit. They pursued their Voyage therefore, and no sooner arrived at *Rome*, but *Aliturius* hurry'd away to Court, and recommended, with abundance of Zeal and Warmth, the Affair of *Josephus* to the Emperor and *Poppaa*, to whom he soon after introduced him; when that illustrious *Jew* made them so fine and elegant a Recital of his Business, that they were charm'd with him. *Poppaa* was so eager to oblige *Josephus*, that she took upon her to sollicit *Nero* in his behalf; and as it was impossible such a powerful Advocate should miscarry, the Prisoners were acquitted and set at Liberty, maugre all the Intrigues of *Pallas* and the King of *Judaa*; and *Josephus*, beside the Gaining of his Cause, receiv'd from *Poppaa* Presents suitable to his Merit, and to her Magnificence.

This Empress look'd upon her high Station as the Summit of Happiness, having no Notion of the Value of a Heavenly Crown: Wherefore, *S. Paul* would fain have inspired her with the Grace of Faith, and with the Knowledge of the true Religion. As this Part of *Poppaa's* History is very little known, because (if I rightly remember) *S. Chrysostom* is the only Person that has mention'd it, I shall upon that Father's Authority present it to the (c) Reader.

(c) *Neronem prorsus ex fama novistis: Vir enim impudens, sceleribusque omnibus insignis fuit, primusque ac solus, in tanto Imperii culmine, novos quosdam lascivie, flagitii, atque turpitudinis modos excogitavit, exquisivit, invenit. Hic itaque Paulo beatissimo (uno enim eodemque tempore vitam istam agebant) ejusmodi ac prorsus*

similia crimina objiciens bis, quæ vos modo Sanctis Viris objicitis: pellicem enim ejus, quam ille deperibat, atque in deliciis habebat, cum induisset fidei ac religionis Sacramenta suscipere, persuaserat una incestum illum, impurumque congressum declinare. Hæc, inquam, ille crimina objectans, corruptoremque, nequam, flagitiosum, atque

* S. Chry-
soft. adv.
Vituper.
Vit. Mo-
nast.

* S. Paul, during his first Abode at Rome, had contracted an Acquaintance at Nero's Court. Some go so far as to affirm, that from this time he kept a Correspondence by Letters with Seneca; tho' most of our modern Authors agree, that all these Letters are supposititious, † unworthy of S. Paul and of Seneca, and the Work of some Impostor; but on the other hand, they all allow, that it is very || probable Seneca knew S. Paul, whose Doctrine and Reputation seem'd so extraordinary, and made so great a Noise in the Empire. Be that as it will, 'tis certain S. Paul was acquainted with several of Nero's Officers, since he says himself, that his § Bonds were manifest in the Emperor's (d) Palace.

† Godeau,
Hist. Eccl.
Secul. 1.

|| Baronius,
ad Annal.
Neron. 12.
S. Chrysoft.
in Act.

§ Philipp.
Homil. 54.
1. 13.

It was apparently by means of this Acquaintance, that the Apostle came to the Speech of Poppæa. He represented to her, with a generous Freedom, the Errors of her past Life; and observing with what Attention she heard him, he

nebulonem, & his similia, que vos perstreptitis, Paulum vocitans, primum quidem conjecit in vincula: cum vero, ut puella ejusmodi monita atque consilia dire desineret, illi persuadere non posset, necavit tandem. S. Chrysoft. adversus Vituper. Vita Monast.

(d) That S. Paul had some Acquaintance at Nero's Court, is most certain: *I would ye should understand, says he to the Philippians, that the things which happened unto me, far from being a Hindrance, have fallen out rather unto the Furtherance of the Gospel: So that my Bonds in Christ are manifest in all the Palace, and in all other Places.* It is moreover certain, that that Apostle converted several of Nero's Officers to the Faith: For toward

the Conclusion of this Epistle, he tells the Philippians, *All the Saints salute you; chiefly they that are of Cæsar's Household.* Hence S. Jerome took Occasion to say, that S. Paul had the Secret of building a Church in the very Palace of his Persecutor. This same Father went farther yet; for he believ'd that Seneca turn'd Christian, and kept a Correspondence by Letters with S. Paul; nay, he did not scruple to place him among the Saints, and to rank him with the Ecclesiastical Authors. 'Tis true, every body now takes those Letters to be forged; but at the same time, it must be granted, that 'tis almost impossible Seneca should not know S. Paul, whose Doctrine and Imprisonment made a great Noise at Rome.

thought

thought it a proper Opportunity to explain to her the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, and to exhort her to embrace its Principles and its Practices. Theſe Admonitions, deliver'd with a Zeal worthy of the Apoſtle, who was himſelf conſumed with Zeal for his Maſter's Glory, ſtagger'd *Poppaa*, and wrought ſuch a Change in her, that *Nero* could not help taking Notice of it. It was to touch that Prince in the moſt ſenſible Part, to inſtill any Principles into *Poppaa*, that did not quadrate with his Inclinations. Being inform'd, that *S. Paul* was the Man who had read ſuch Lectures of Self-Denial to *Poppaa*, as had render'd her grave, and modeſt, and reſerv'd; and giving the Reins to his Paſſion, he cauſ'd that Apoſtle to be ſeiz'd and loaded with Chains, and then ſhut up in a loathſome (e) Priſon; calling him a Rogue, a Villain, a Seducer, a Vagabond, and all the injurious Names his Rage could ſuggeſt to him.

S. Peter was *S. Paul*'s Companion in his Bonds, as he was afterward in his Triumph. Their Priſon was a darkſome Dungeon at the Foot of the *Capitol*; where Guards were placed upon them, who had not Power to reſiſt the Words of Life which proceeded from the Mouths of thoſe Holy Criminals, and wanted nothing but Water for their Initiation by Baptiſm, to embrace the Religion preach'd to them by the Apoſtles.

(e) This is what they now call at Rome, *San Pietro in carcere*. It was anciently call'd *Carcer Tullianum*. There were two Priſons, one above the other: The Malefactors charged with the greateſt Crimes were put in the Under one, call'd *Robur*: *O dignum carcere & robore!* ſaid *Cicero*. It was a horrid Place, both for its Darkneſs and Stench. *Salluſt* gives the following Deſcription of it: *Eſt locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum aſcenderis ad lavam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depreſſus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque inſuper camera lapideis fornicibus juncta, ſed inculta tenebris, odore ſæda, atque terribilis ejus facies eſt.*

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This Want was soon supply'd. God, who in a terrible Drought, did once open the Bowels of a Rock, at the Instance of *Moses*, and cause such refreshing Streams to flow from thence, heard also the Prayer of the Apostles, and cleaving the Bosom of a large Marble-Stone, which lay in the middle of the Dungeon, miraculously furnish'd a Spring of Water, which rais'd those happy Jailors to everlasting Life. For, some days after their Baptism, having been inform'd against for their new Religion, and yielding the precious Fruit of the Apostles Labours, they * with a wonderful Constancy suffer'd Martyrdom for the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, which they had but just embraced.

* *Martyr-
vol. Rom.
2. Jul.*

The narrow Bounds of *S. Paul's* Prison could by no means confine his Zeal. That Apostle, having had the good Fortune to bring over his Guards, adventured to exhort, by his Emisaries, the Empress *Poppæa* to hearken to the Truth, which he had preach'd unto her. But the Seed had not taken Root. As the Advances she had made toward Vertue, upon *S. Paul's* Lectures, were but doubtful and wary Steps, the Strength of Habit soon drew her back to her former Course of Life, notwithstanding all that † the Apostle could say; and beside, *Nero* put a Stop to his Intercourse, and perhaps to his Success. For that Emperor being told, that his pretended Seducer found means to furnish *Poppæa* with Instructions from the Prison itself, and press'd her to embrace a Religion to whose pious Maxims he was an utter Enemy, he cruelly order'd him to be beheaded without the City-Walls, the same day that he caus'd *S. Peter* to be nail'd to the Cross.

† *S. Chry-
sost. adv.
Vituper.
Vit. Mo-
nast.*

Thus did *Poppæa* return to her former Abominations. Still giddy with her Beauty and her Grandeur, she study'd more and more how to maintain the one by the Charms of the other; and

and the Emperor, whose Passion for her was as violent as ever, meeting with the same Returns as before, set no Bounds to his Tendernefs and Complaisance. But what contributed, more than all the rest, to increase his Flame, was the Hope of having an Heir to his Name and Fortune, grounded upon the Empress's proving with Child. It is impossible to express *Nero's* Joy upon this News. It shew'd itself all manner of ways, and particularly by the Multitude of his Vows, to obtain of the Gods a happy Birth.

The Senate, the People, and other Orders of the City, were not behind-hand upon this Occasion, to convince the Emperor of the Part they took in his Joy. They instituted Games and Combats, and order'd Publick Prayers to be put up for *Poppæa*. She was happily deliver'd, at *Antium*, of a Daughter, who was named *Claudia*, and soon after honour'd with the Title of *Augusta*, as well as the Mother; and *Nero* seeing now the Accomplishment of his Vows, carry'd his Exultation to the highest Pitch. * He instituted sumptuous Games, and a Turnament after the *Athenian* Manner. He dedicated a Temple to the Goddess of Fruitfulness, in Thanksgiving for that of *Poppæa*; and that nothing might be wanting to do Honour to that young Princess's Birth, he order'd Opera's to be perform'd in a Theatre on the farther Side of the *Tiber*, whither resorted an extraordinary Concourse of People, to hear the Songs and Hymns composed in Honour of *Claudia Augusta*, wherein the Emperor deign'd to join his Voice with those of the Musicians, and to appear at the Head of the Consort.

* *Plinius,*
Tacitus,
Sueton.

The Senate went to *Antium* in a Body, and in their Habits of Ceremony, to congratulate *Poppæa* on this happy Occasion; and all the Orders strove which should out-do the other in Expressions of Joy.

Joy. But it was soon changed into Mourning; for *Claudia* liv'd but a few Months; and *Nero*, who upon her Birth had no Government of himself in rejoicing, was now o'erwhelm'd with Grief, and shew'd as little Reason in his Sorrow, as he had before done in his Joy. Fresh Work for the Senate, this! Bound to frame their Sentiments according to those of the Emperor, they must now exert themselves in Mournful guise, for the Princess's Death. They decreed to honour her as a Goddess, to erect Temples to her, and to institute Priests for her Service; thus carrying their Flattery to the highest Degree of Impiety.

Poppæa's Grief was more sensible and affecting, in regard it was more just and sincere; for if Affection had not drawn Tears from her upon the Loss of her Daughter, Policy would have claim'd them, the Birth of that Princess having fix'd the Emperor's Volatile Temper; so that she might be look'd upon as the Pledge of his Love. On the other hand, *Poppæa's* Fruitfulness had gain'd her the Hearts of the *Romans*, sufficiently disaffected to her since the Murder of *Octavia*. But a second Pregnancy revived all her Hopes; and she would doubtless have seen all her Desire, had *Nero* suffer'd her to go her Time out.

That Prince, who had long turn'd a deaf Ear to the grave Remonstrances of the Wise and the Vertuous, and abandon'd himself entirely to the pernicious Cajoles of a few Court-Parasites, whose Views were more to the Advancement of their Private Interest, than of their Master's Glory, was carry'd away with Amusements unworthy of his Rank, and gave his Mind to nothing but Musick, and Dancing, and Farce-Playing, wherein he was proud of being thought a Master. But his prime Ambition of all was, to excell in driving a Chariot, which he had such an Opinion of, that he resolv'd to travel from *Rome* to *Greece*,

to

to shew his Dexterity in that Art, as we shall see anon.

Poppæa, vex'd to see him employ'd in these mean Exercises, which expos'd him to Publick Ridicule, endeavour'd to disengage him, by censuring such pitiful Diversions, as derogatory from the Glory and Majesty of an Emperor. She first try'd the Strength of her Intreaties, her Caresses, and her Tears; but finding all these to no purpose, she resolv'd to make an Attempt in the way of Rallery and Banter: But this Essay, instead of producing a good Effect, did only prove fatal to herself: For that unnatural Prince, being unable to bear the Sarcastical Jokes of *Poppæa*, one day when she was bantering him about driving a Chariot, * he gave her a Kick on the Belly, which put an end to her Life.

* *Tacit. Annal. 16. Sueton. in Ner. Xiphilin.*

Nero, as soon as his Passion was over, appear'd inconsolable upon this Loss. He caus'd all imaginable Honours to be paid to *Poppæa's* Corpse. It was embalm'd by his Order, according to the Custom of Foreign Kings, and reposit'd with a vast deal of State in the Tomb of the *Julii*: Nay, if *Pliny* is to be believ'd, there were † burnt, at her Funeral, more Perfumes, than *Arabia* produced in a Year. Lastly, to make her amends for the unfortunate Blow he had given her, the Emperor made her a Goddess, by procuring her a Decree of Immortality: A Funeral Oration was pronounced in Praise of that Princess; wherein Care was taken to do Justice to her Beauty: And *Nero* grew so fond of her after her Death, that his Passion then became as infamous, as before it had been violent: Insomuch that the Rules of Modesty and Decorum forbid me to translate what the || Historians have recorded, of that profligate Emperor's Transactions with his Free-Man *Sporus*, whose Face very much resembled that of *Poppæa*.

† *Plinius, Hist. Nat. lib. 12. c. 18.*

|| *Aurel. Viſt. Epit. Sueton. in Ner. Xiphilin.*



STATILIA MESSALINA,

NERO'S *Last Consort.*

EVER had Reign a more auspicious Beginning, than that of *Nero*. The first Five Years of his Empire have the unanimous Praises of all Historians; and *Trajan*, who was himself so great a Prince, thought they might serve for a perfect Model. * The Declaration he publickly made, concerning the Rules and Maxims of Government which he design'd to follow, was so grateful to the Senate and all the Orders of the City, and form'd in their Mind such an agreeable Idea of a happy and gentle Reign, that they caus'd it to be engraven on a Table of Silver. *Augustus* was the Model he propos'd to himself; and to shew that it should not suffice him to behold the Example of this Emperor with a fruitless Admiration, but that he design'd to be an exact and faithful Imitator of it, he † did not suffer a Day to pass, without some Act of Generosity, Clemency, or Liberality. Persons under Affliction found in him a sure Refuge. He eas'd the People, by abolishing the new Taxes, and diminishing the old. He rescued indigent Vertue, and skulking Nobility, from the Outrages of Fortune, by supplying the Wants of such Senators as were poor, tho' of illustrious Families; and enabled them, by his Liberality, to support their Dignity with Honour. In a word, he establish'd such useful and necessary Rules, that the Senate, charm'd with this fine Beginning, gave him Publick Thanks; and *Nero*, with a Modesty worthy of the highest

Commen-

* *Aurel. Vict. Epit. in Ner.*

† *Sueton. in Ner. cap. 10.*

Commendation, told them he had not yet deserv'd them.

First-Fruits thus gracious and praise-worthy seem'd to promise the best of Consequences, and to warrant a *Halcyon* Reign. Every Man framed to himself an Idea of Happiness which nothing could possibly disturb, and painted it in the sweetest and most agreeable Colours. *Nero* was look'd upon as a Present from the Gods, made to restore the Publick Felicity, and to renew the Empire of *Augustus*: But that Prince did not long answer the Expectations they had of him. His Manners changed with his Fortune. In proportion as his Flatterers got the Mastery of his Temper, he divested himself of his pristine Moderation; and with them became afterward wicked by Contagion. He suffer'd himself to be carry'd away with the Weight of Example; till at last, abandoning himself to all manner of Crimes, he evinced that it was impossible any thing should spring from *Ænobarbus* and *Agrippina*, but what was to the last degree pernicious and detestable.

No sooner had he shaken off the uneasy Yoak of his Mother's and Preceptors Authority, which was a Curb upon his Passions, and establish'd himself in an uncontroul'd Liberty, but he fell into the Commission of those horrid Crimes, which render'd him the Scourge of *Rome*, and the Pest of the Republick. Instead of *Augustus*, whom he had promis'd to take for his Pattern, he declared that *Caligula*, the worst Emperor that had yet reign'd, should serve him as a Model; tho' indeed he surpass'd him in all manner of Vices: So that his Name, which before furnish'd the Idea of an accomplish'd Prince, being now become the Subject of common Hatred and Reproach, was the express Image of a Tyrant in grain; and those, whom People had a mind to distinguish by the vilest of Characters, were call'd *Nero's*.

His

* S. Chry-
soft. adv.
Vituper.
Vit. Mo-
nast.

† Sueton.
in Ner.
cap. 29.
Tacitus.

His monstrous Impurities were such, as affected all Parts of his Body. He rack'd his Brain to invent new Pleasures; so that * neither Rank, nor Sex, nor Affinity was Guard against the impetuous and abominable Flames of his Lewdness and Incontinence. His unheard-of Cruelties fill'd Rome with Blood and Tears. † He precipitated the Death of his Aunt *Domitia*, for the Lucre of her fine Estate; tho' that Lady's great Age could have kept him out of Possession but a short time. (a) *Rubellius Plautus* was afterward sacrificed to his Jealousy. *Pallas* serv'd also as Fewel to feed his Avarice and Cruelty. *Nero* caus'd him to be poison'd, for the sake of his immense Riches, which that Free-Man, in plain Violation of his Trust, had gain'd by Rapine and Extorsion, and was forced to leave behind him by this violent Death; the just Reward of what he had made other People suffer, at whose Expence he enrich'd himself.

§ Dio,
Tacitus,
Sueton.

After having sufficiently exercised his Inhumanity against the Citizens of Rome, § he turn'd his Fury upon Rome itself, and consumed its Edifices, Temples, and Palaces, in a most dreadful Fire. He went up to the Top of a Tower, to see in cold Blood with what Fierceness the Flames spread themselves in the finest Streets of the City, that he might have a lively Image of the Destruction of *Troy*; brutishly making himself the Incendiary of his Country, to satisfy his detesta-

(a) *Rubellius Plautus* was related to the Family of the *Cæsars*; for he was Son to *Rubellius Blandus* and a Daughter of *Drusus*, *Tiberius's* Son, whose first Husband was *Nero*, eldest Son to *Germanicus*. *Rubellius* retired into *Asia*, to avoid giving Umbrage to *Nero*; but that voluntary Exile did not prove a Place of Safety

for him. The barbarous Emperor sent *Russians* into *Asia*, to murder him, and bring his Head to Rome. He had a mind to regale himself with the cruel Pleasure of viewing it; and adding Insult to his Barbarity, told the Company with a Sneer, he did not know *Rubellius* had so large a Nose.

ble

ble Curiosity ; a manifest Indication of the Depravity of his Nature. * Horrid Barbarity ! which * *Baron.* serv'd as a Pretence for the first Persecution that befell the Infant-Church of *Christ*, at whose Door *Nero* charged this terrible Conflagration ; thus fixing upon them the Scandal of his own Fury, and punishing them for a Crime, of which he was the only Author : Or rather, should I say ? Happy Cruelty ! which sent so great a Number of Martyrs to Heaven.

I should tire my Reader, as well as exceed the Limits of my Design, should I enter into the Detail of that Prince's Actions. It will answer my Purpose to observe, that after he had dipt his Hands in the Blood of Prince *Britannicus*, his Mother *Agrippina*, and his Spouse *Octavia*, to pave the way to his Marriage with *Poppæa*, of whom he was desperately enamour'd ; he at last kill'd her too, as we have above related ; and resolving, in a short time, to marry again, he cast his Eyes upon the Princess *Antonia*, his first Wife's Sister, and his own Sister by Adoption.

Antonia was far from being charm'd with the deluding Splendor of the Throne, which is wont to dazzle Vulgar Eyes. As inviting as it might seem, she reflected, that that pompous Outside, which renders it so desirable to the Ambitious, very often serves only to conceal the most corroding Cares ; and that the gaudy Avenues to Sovereign Grandeur many times divert our Sight from the numerous Precipices with which it is surrounded. Upon these Considerations, when she found herself caress'd by *Nero*, to whose brutish and violent Temper she was no Stranger, she gave him but a cold Reception.

There was a great deal of Prudence in this Conduct of *Antonia*. The Miseries of *Octavia*, and *Poppæa*'s violent Death, were ugly Presages of her sharing the same Fortune ; and as she

consider'd every thing with the utmost Nicety, she look'd upon the Fate of those two Empresses as a Warning to her what she might expect. Wherefore, she constantly refused to marry a Prince with whom she could never think herself safe. This Refusal, however, cost her her Life. *Nero's* Temper was of too Combustible a nature to bear with any Resistance; so that *Antonia's* provoked him to the last degree: And to be revenged of her, he charged her with Mal-Practices against the Government; upon which Accusation, tho' no Legal Proof was made of it, she was put to Death.

* *Sueton.*
in *Ner.*
Tacitus,
Annal.

* The next he fixt his Eyes upon, was *Statilia Messalina*, Grand-Daughter to *Statilius Taurus*, who had the Honour of a Triumph and the Consulate in the Reign of *Augustus*. This Lady was very much celebrated at *Rome*, both for her Fortune and her Wit; and tho' she had already had three Husbands, from whom she was separated either by Death or Divorce, her Beauty was not yet departed, but she had still a large Train of Admirers; and tho' one cannot say, her Virtue was never call'd in Question, yet this did not hinder her from getting a fourth Husband.

His Name was *Atticus Vestinus*, a Companion of *Nero* in his Debauches, and entrusted with all his Secrets. This Senator had found means to introduce himself so far into the Emperor's Familiarity, that he often ventur'd to take the Liberty of rallying him in the severest manner. *Nero* was sometimes very impatient under this Usage; but having laid himself open to *Vestinus*, and led him into the most secret Recesses of his Soul, he durst not resent the Salleys of his Tongue, for fear he should divulge the shameful Crimes he knew his Prince to be guilty of. But *Vestinus*, when he marry'd *Messalina*, was very sensible of her kind Regards for *Nero*. Their Amour had
made

made so much Noise at *Rome*, that there was no Likelihood of *Vestinus's* being the only Person who had not heard of the Intrigue; for she receiv'd the Emperor's Addresses, without concerning herself whether they wounded her Reputation or not, (her Fortune being of greater Weight with her than her Honour) and made it her Study to engage him, because if that were once done, she might promise herself all the Grandeur that her Vanity could aspire at: But as she could not be sure of succeeding in her ambitious Views, she resolved to marry *Vestinus*, who paid very dear for his Rashness in offering to make a Wife of the Emperor's Mistress; for *Nero* so highly resented it, that he sought only an Opportunity to dispatch him.

He did not doubt of finding it in *Piso's* Conspiracy, which proved fatal to so many worthy Men. But no body arising to give Information against *Vestinus*, (for indeed it did not appear that he was concern'd in that Affair) and *Nero* not being able to bear the Sight of a Man he mortally hated, especially since by the Death of *Poppæa* he was at Liberty to marry *Messalina*, he cruelly order'd his Veins to be open'd, without troubling himself about the Cause, and by the Death of that Senator, removed the greatest Object of his Hate, who had before been the greatest Object of his (b) Love.

Vestinus's hard Fate did not draw huge Floods of Tears from the Eyes of *Messalina*, who was well assured that that Loss would be made up to her by *Nero* himself. It was so in effect: The Emperor not only marry'd her, but procured a Decree which gave her the glorious Title of *Augusta*. * This new Empress was at first perfectly

(b) *Vestinus* was at Table in his own House, entertaining several of his Friends at Supper, when the Ministers of *Nero's* Vengeance came to put him into a hot Bath, and there set his Veins a running.

* Goltz.
Thesaur.
rei Antiq.

charm'd with the Splendor of the Throne; but it was not long, before she found the Pleasures of Sovereignty blended with a great deal of Trouble and Uneasiness. *Nero's* irregular Conduct was a plenteous and a bitter Spring to her; and what added to the Weight of *Messalina's* Cares, was, that she was forced to bewail herself in Secret, without uttering the least Complaint, for fear her Remonstrances, if she should venture to make any to the Empetor, should prove as fatal to her, as *Poppæa's* Rallery. In short, *Nero* was no longer capable of pursuing good Advice, but was entirely govern'd by his wild Caprices and extravagant Desires.

Not content with the Perpetration of so many Crimes, he still went on to heap Murder upon Murder; and under the Pretence of punishing *Piso's* Accomplices, he dyed the City in Blood. *Silanus Vetus* and all his Family were the first that felt the Weight of his Fury. *Annaeus Mella*, *Seneca's* Brother, and Father of *Lucan* the Poet, was involv'd in this Affair; as well as *Petronius*, the most agreeable and most delicate Deboeshee of his Time. *Patus Trasea*, a Senator renown'd for his high Employes, and crown'd with Honour; *Borea Soranus*, illustrious for the Greatness of his Birth and Dignities, and having the Reputation of the strictest Probity, those precious Remains of Ancient Vertue; *Corbulo*, the Image of Old *Rome's* Worthies, and the most substantial Prop of the Empire; *Seneca*, and innumerable others of the first Rank, augmented the Number of Victims offer'd up to that Tyrant's Cruelty.

But neither was the Emperor's Cruelty the only Cause of *Messalina's* Vexation: His Folly and Extravagance appear'd, to her, no less Subjects of Discontent. It was not enough for him to have pass'd his Youthful Days in singing, in writing Verses, in driving Chariots, and play-
ing

ing upon Instruments ; but now that he was Emperor, he took Delight in shewing his Ability in those Exercises, so unbecoming his Dignity ; and that, even upon particular Occasions, wherein he should by all means have affected a Gravity suitable to his Rank. He did it, for Instance, before *Tiridates*, who came to *Rome* to receive the Crown of *Armenia* from the Hands of the Emperor : For *Nero*, not being able to act long the Serious Part, which was quite contrary to his Nature, took the King to the Theater, immediately after the Ceremony of the Coronation was ended, and dressing himself in Green before him, shew'd him his Skill in driving a Chariot, without the least Sense of Shame upon the Score of lessening his Dignity by such pitiful Amusements.

However, unworthy as they were of an Emperor, they did not fail to meet with some of those servile Flatterers, who give a Sanction even to the Vices of their Sovereign ; and these exerted their Talents in Commendation of *Nero's* Activity and Judgment upon so trivial a Performance. Hence the Emperor concluding that his rare Qualifications ought not to be bury'd in *Rome*, resolv'd to shew them in the Provinces, and to get himself crown'd as the best Coachman, the best Comedian, the best Singer, and the finest Player on the Harp, that ever the Empire knew ; for this last was the noblest of all his Passions. He would not suffer any Person to dispute these glorious Titles with him ; but to be his Rival in either of those laudable Sciences, was the most dangerous thing a Man could undertake. He set out from *Rome* therefore, and stopping at all the Towns thro' which he pass'd, he made a Shew of himself to the People in their Halls and Amphitheaters, and furnish'd them many a pleasant Scene, to convince them of his Skill and Activity, begging every where the Applause of the Crowd :

And having travel'd in this manner all over *Achaia*, he return'd to *Rome*, laden with eighteen hundred (c) Crowns, or Garlands of Laurel; more

(c) The Romans honour'd those with a Crown, who had distinguish'd themselves in the Wars, in the Combats at the *Capitol*, in the Publick Games, in any sort of Science, or even in the Fights at the Amphitheater. As these Crowns were given upon several Occasions, so they were made of different Materials. I find ten sorts of them, that were mostly in Use.

The first and most honourable was made of nothing but the Herb which the *Latins* call'd *Gramen*, and was the same as our Dogs Grass.

The second was of Oak, which was sacred to *Jupiter*. This was chiefly conferr'd on such as carry'd off the Prizes in the Combats at the *Capitol*.

The third was of Holm, which is a kind of Oak. This serv'd to crown those who had obtain'd the *Ovation*, or small Triumph.

The fourth was of Laurel. This also was very honourable. The Triumphers either wore it the day of their Triumphs, or had it held over their Heads by a Slave who stood behind them in the Triumphal Chariot. Those who had had the Honour of a Triumph, wore them likewise upon any solemn Festivals, and in Publick Assemblies: And according to *Suetonius*, *Julius Caesar* receiv'd none of the Honours conferr'd upon him by the Senate and People, with greater Joy, than the Privilege of wearing a Crown of Laurel when he pleas'd. *Non alium recepit, aut*

usurpavit libentius, quam jus Laurea Corona perpetuo gestanda.

The fifth was of Olive-Tree. This was for such as gain'd a Victory without being in the Engagement.

The sixth was of Ivy, which was sacred to *Bacchus*, the Inventor of Triumphs.

The seventh was of Palm-Leaves, tied here and there with Ribbons of different Colours. It was frequently used in Triumphs. It was moreover given to Counsellors of Note, who put it upon *Marsyas's* Statue, as we have observ'd. *Dotto Oratori Palma danda est.* Cic.

The eighth was of Myrtle. This was a *Civick* Crown; and given also to Poets who dealt in Love-Songs.

The ninth was of Parsley.

The tenth was a sort of Garland, wound about with Ribbons made of Wool. This was given to the Gladiators who had obtain'd six Victories, and they had their Liberty granted them along with it.

The Poet *Statius*, who flourish'd in *Domitian's* Reign, and is by some erroneously made a Native of *Toulouse*, had three Crowns given him in one day.

But now these Crowns of Honour must be distinguish'd from the Crowns of Joy which the Romans wore upon their Festivals, or Days of Triumph and Solemnity, and even in the Publick Assemblies. *Eodem anno coronati, primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos* glorious,

glorious, than if they had been dyed in the Blood of the moſt formidable Enemies of the Empire.

But theſe unworthy Exercifes did not ſtop the Courſe of his Cruelty or Incontinence. When he left them off, it was to ſhed the Blood of ſome Citizen, or to cover ſome Family with Diſhonour; till at laſt he carry'd his Exceſſes to that Height, that there was no other way of numbering his Crimes, that by counting his Actions. An Empire thus Tyrannical made the Pro-

ſpectaverunt, ſays Livy. For tho' they were often made of Laurel, as well as the Triumphal Crowns; yet there was always ſomething to diſtinguiſh them. The People commonly wore them of Ivy, Roſes, and other Flowers; and now and then of Laurel, as I remark'd.

Apollinares ludos Populus laureatus ſpectabat. Feſt.

It may not be improper to obſerve here, that the Crowns granted for any Military Exploit, had peculiar Names ſignifying what ſort of Exploit had merited them. The principal of theſe were,

The *Obſidional*, *Obſidionalis*. It was conferr'd upon thoſe who deliver'd a Town or a Camp beſieged. It was the moſt honourable, tho' made only of *Gramen*, which was generally gather'd in the Place ſo deliver'd.

The *Mural*, *Muralis*. This was to crown ſuch, as firſt ſcaled the Walls of a Town taken by Aſſault. It was ſet off with ſmall Battlements round it.

The *Civick*, *Civica*. It was the Reward of thoſe who in Fight ſaved the Lives of the Citizens, and bravely made the Enemy retreat. It was made of Oak-Boughs.

The *Triumphal*, *Triumphalis*. At firſt this was made of Laurel, but afterward of Gold. It was worn by thoſe who had the Honour of a Triumph.

The *Naval*, *Navalis*. This was conferr'd upon him that firſt forcibly enter'd the Enemy's Ship.

The *Crown with Prows*, *Roſtrata Corona*, was given to ſuch as had obtain'd a Victory at Sea; as Agrippa at the Battle of Actium.

Parte alia ventis & Ditis Agrippa ſecundis

Arduus agmen agens, cui belli inſigne ſuperbum, Tempora Navali fulgent Roſtrata Coronâ. Virg.

The *Corona Caſtrenſis*. This was conferr'd upon him who had the Courage to throw himſelf firſt into the Enemy's Fort. It was made in the Form of a Rampart or Palifade.

Laſtly, the *Corona Vallaris* was beſtow'd upon him who firſt enter'd the Enemy's Camp. I took notice above, that they had alſo a Crown of Olive for thoſe who notwithstanding they were not in the Fight, were yet by ſome means the Occaſion of a Victory.

vinces revolt, and put them upon the Resolution to shake off so heavy a Yoak. *Vindex*, who govern'd *Celtick Gaul* in the quality of *Proprator*, was the first that declared against *Nero*: But his Example was soon follow'd by *Galba*, who commanded the Army in *Spain*; and by *Otho*, Governor of *Lusitania*; till at last the *Romans* withdrew their Allegiance also, from a Prince whose Vices had render'd him Odious to all the World. *Galba* was proclaim'd Emperor by the Legions; and his Election was confirm'd by a Decree of the Senate, which declared *Nero* an Enemy to the Republick, and condemn'd him to die. He knew this must be an (*d*) ignominious Death; and perceiving that he was hated of every body, betray'd by his Subjects, despised and unpity'd even by the Partners of his Crimes, he kill'd himself, to escape falling into the Hands of those who would have expos'd him to the Fury of an enraged People: But before he made the fatal Push, he said it was pity so fine a Musician should come to so miserable an End.

The Pleasures of the Court, and the Enchantments of the Throne, had so far got Possession of *Messalina's* Heart, that she could not help wishing to ascend it again: Nay, she very much flatter'd herself with the Hopes of it, when *Otho*, to whom she had not been indifferent, wrote her Letters

(*d*) *Nero* hearing that the Senate had declared him an Enemy to the Republick, and condemn'd him to be punish'd according to the ancient Form, ask'd what that ancient Form was: And being told, that the Criminal was stript stark naked, and a Pitch-Fork being run thro' his Head, he was whipt till he died, then cast headlong from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock, and dragg'd with a Hook into the *Tyber*; he could not help trembling: And one of those about him, advising him to prevent all these Indignities to which his Body would be expos'd, by courageously putting an End to his Life; *Nero* faintly answer'd, that he should be much obliged to him, if he would set him an Example how to die courageously.

full

full of Tendernefs, and Proteftations of Refpect. The Truth is, *Otho* had refolved to marry her, and waited only till his Advancement was fecured; but *Meffalina*'s precipitate Joy was of very fhort Duration, Fortune not being altogether fo good as her Word to that poor Princefs, but forfaking *Otho* when he flood in moft need of her Affiftance. Capricious Jilt! that often fets us on high, only to give us the greater Fall. Thus, as if fhe repented that fhe had rais'd *Otho* to the Throne upon *Galba*'s Death, fhe foon expofed him to a lamentable Fate: Or rather, God would not fuffer him to enjoy a Dignity long, that he had attain'd by the dreadful Guilt of Parricide; to the end his difmal Fate might teach the Ambitious, that there is nothing fo fhort-lived, as Ufurp'd Power; and that the Diadem fits tottering upon a Head crown'd by Villains. In fhort, after *Galba* was affaffinated by the Treachery of *Otho*, the Empire became, as it were, a Prey to any one that would ufurp it. *Vitellius* was proclaim'd Emperor at *Cologn*; but *Otho*'s Party was the ftrongeft, becaufe he had the City of *Rome* on his fide. He had not, however, the Art of improving his Advantage; for inftead of waiting the Arrival of fome Legions that were marching to join him from *Illyris*, he went to meet *Vitellius*, and offer'd him Battle, wherein he would not hazard himfelf, and fo was ruin'd; for his Army not being animated with the General's Prefence, was entirely defeated; and *Otho* hearing it, flew himfelf in Defpair, becaufe he would not furvive his Misfortune. But before he died, he wrote *Meffalina* a very moving Letter, to bid her the laft Farewell.

Thus were all *Meffalina*'s Hopes nipt with the fame Stroke which deprived *Otho* of his Life; and her Ambition may be faid to have been quench'd in that Emperor's Blood. For feeing all
her

her Views at once frustrated, and her Projects confounded by the dismal Fate of the Man with whom she had flatter'd herself she should remount the Throne, she apply'd herself altogether to the Study of Eloquence, which she became a perfect Mistress of; and proved this in several excellent Orations, which she pronounced publickly, and which were not only full of Learning, but were moreover compos'd with an Elegance and Politeness capable of exciting the Jealousy of the greatest Orators. And in this Employment she pass'd the remainder of her Life.



L'EPIDA,

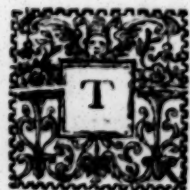


LEPIDA,

CONSORT

TO

SERGIUS GALBA.



WHO of the most Illustrious Families in Rome were united in the Person of the Emperor (a) *Sergius Sulpicius Galba*. * He was related to the Empress *Livia*, who advanced his Fortune, by procuring him the highest Employments, to which he was admitted before he had attain'd the stated Age. He went several Years by the Name of *Livius Ocella*, which he derived from *Livia Ocellina*, his Father *Galba's* second Wife. *Ocellina*, who was very rich and beautiful, took a Fancy to that Roman for the sake of his Nobility, tho' he was short, ill-shaped, and even crooked; Blemishes of Nature which he very dexterously hid, by wearing a long full Cloak, and very high-heel'd Shoes. Neither did she at all lessen her Esteem

* *Sueton. in Galb. Plutarch. Vit. Galb. Tacitus, Histor. lib. 1. c. 13.*

(a) *Galba* was born the very day before our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; to wit, upon the 24th of December, in the Year 749. from the Building of the City. The Family of the *Cæsars* was extinct in the Person of *Nero*; for *Galba* was no ways related to it. He was akin to *Livia*, with whom he was a great Favourite.

for

for him, after *Galba* had himself convinced her of those Defects. For being resolv'd to deal plainly with her; and not to leave her the least room to reproach him afterward of deceiving her, he one day took her aside, and throwing off his Cloak, read her a Lecture upon each of his Deformities: A Frankness seldom imitated; but which so far ingratiated him with *Ocellina*, that when she found she was not likely to have Children by him, she adopted *Sergius Galba*, his Son by his first Wife *Mummia Achaica*; and this *Galba* is the Person we are now treating of.

Galba had several happy Omens of attaining to the Sovereignty. * *Augustus* told him, he would one day taste of Empire; † *Tiberius* was heard to say publicly, that *Galba* would reign in his Old Age; and a Diviner positively assured him, that the Empire would devolve upon his Family, but not till very late; whereupon *Galba* laughing, reply'd, that it would be when a Mule foal'd: A Prodigy which happen'd nevertheless, and was look'd upon by *Galba* as a sure Presage of the Accomplishment of the Prediction.

It was impossible for *Galba*, with his fine Qualities, his immense Riches, and his Prospect of Grandeur, to fail of good Offers. He had several considerable ones made to him; but met with so much Discretion and Modesty, and intrinsic Value in *Lepida*, that he turn'd the whole Stream of his Inclination toward her, and marry'd her. Neither was he ever known to repent of his Choice. *Lepida* answer'd her Husband's Affection with a great deal of Tendernefs, and a Fidelity never tainted with the least Suspicion. And thus did they live very happily together, and in the most perfect Harmony, till *Agrippina*, whose Head was full of a thousand Projects of Ambition, wanting an Associate who might be able to assist her in paving the Way to the Throne,

under-

* *Sueton.*
in *Galb.*
† *Tacitus*,
Annal. 6.

undertook to persuade *Galba*, whom she look'd upon as a Man for her Turn, to divorce his Wife *Lepida*, and to marry her in her stead.

* *Agrippina* was then Widow to *Domitius Æno-*^{* Sueton.}
barbus, her first Husband: To her illustrious^{in Galb.} Birth we must add the Charms of an exquisite Beauty; a delicate and sprightly, tho' easy, Turn of Wit; and lastly, an Ambition nurs'd up with high Pretensions to Fortune. The only thing she wanted, was a Husband as ambitious as herself, and inclinable to follow her Directions; and she thought none so proper as *Galba*, whose Nobility, and Employs, and Interest at Court render'd him very considerable; not to mention the Presages that he should arrive at the Sovereignty.

To succeed in her Design, and bring *Galba* into this Marriage, from which she promis'd herself such vast Advantages, she judg'd it unseasonable to pay any Regard to the scrupulous Laws of Decency, which do not permitt the Ladies to make the first Overture. She was above those Shackles of Formality; and apprehended, that to let things go on in their natural Course, might be the Ruin of her Fortune. Thus resolving never to reproach herself, that she miss'd her Aim by tying herself down too strictly to the Rules of Decorum, she prevented *Galba* with a Tender of the most passionate Addresses.

Galba, who penetrated the very inmost Recesses of *Agrippina's* Soul, knew well how to make the nice Distinction between aspiring Policy, and sincere Love; and not being ignorant of the deep Designs of that Princess in the irregular Methods she pursued, he resolv'd not to be the Tool of her wild Ambition. Wherefore, to convince her that he would not suffer himself to be surprized by her deluding Caresses, he carry'd himself with as much Indifference to her, as she could shew of Weakness to him. Beside, *Galba* had not
the

the least Inclination to part with *Lepida*, of whose Vertue he was so well satisfy'd ; to marry *Agrippina*, whose Husband he knew would be expos'd to the Chagrins of her Incontinence, if not to many others, as *Passienus* and *Claudius* had been.

Agrippina, however, would not be easily balk'd. She display'd all the Charms of her Beauty ; which, being set off with the utmost Art of a Woman that had a mind to please, were extremely dangerous ; and where-ever she heard *Galba* was, thither she immediately flew, and laid all her Baits to captivate that *Roman's* Heart.

Expos'd thus to her alluring Charms, *Galba* found them the most formidable Enemies he ever had to deal with ; but they on the other hand found his Heart so well defended by the advantageous Notion he had of his Wife *Lepida's* Vertue, and his bad Opinion of *Agrippina*, that all her Attractives, which had been fatal to so many *Romans*, had no Effect at all upon *Galba's* Mind ; but *Agrippina* was reduced to the miserable Fate of sighing in vain.

Any one but *Lepida* would have been alarm'd, no doubt, with the Apprehension that *Galba* might at last be surprized into Snares thus insidiously, tho' openly, laid ; and think himself obliged, as a gallant Man, to make some Returns to her tender Advances : But *Lepida* betray'd not the least Jealousy ; and suffer'd *Agrippina* to go on, without fearing an Alteration in her Husband's Conduct, from her Rival's eager Pursuits. Her Mother, however, was not so easy. She was a Lady of profound Penetration ; and well perceiving that *Agrippina* would stick at nothing to debauch her Son, was rack'd with the Jealousy her Daughter could not feel ; and conceiv'd such an Aversion to *Agrippina*, that she had much ado to forbear shewing it in all Companies. She let it sleep, indeed, for a while ; but at last, weary of stifling her
her

her Passion within her enraged Breast, she waited only an Opportunity to vent it; which Chance favourably threw in her way.

She was one day at an Assembly of Ladies, where *Agrippina* was of the Number. The Conversation was open'd with Discourses upon indifferent Matters; but * *Lepida's* Mother finely * *Sueton.* turn'd it upon *Agrippina's* new Gallantry, which *in Galb.* she rally'd with a Mixture of Spight and Wit, sufficient to have put any one but *Agrippina* out of Countenance: But that Princess being furnish'd with a very good Assurance, and a Pride that never gave way to any thing, instead of artfully eluding the Intention of the Company to give her Pain, made a vigorous Defence, and thereby engaged the Conversation more and more in her Affair. From Rallery it became serious; and *Lepida's* Mother, full of Jealousy and Resentment, reproach'd *Agrippina* her scandalous Enterprize upon *Galba's* Heart, which was his Spouse's Property; the shameful Overtures she had made him; and the immodest Artifices she employ'd to attract his Love. To these Reproaches, *Agrippina*, who was not to be daunted, return'd shocking Answers; and thus the Quarrel blew up into a Flame, which at last ended in open War. From hard Words they proceeded to the bitterest Invectives, and from calling of Names to downright Blows. This was a pleasant Scene indeed! The Ladies of the Assembly were forced to part the two Heroines, and prudently hinder the Continuance of the Fight: But it was not *Agrippina's* Victory. She retired, on the contrary, pretty much hurt with some particular Blow, which *Galba's* Mother-in-Law gave her; and left this Lady Mistress of the Field of Battle.

Could *Agrippina* have opposed to her Ambition the Rules of Decency, she had never shewn *Galba* a Passion so open, so ardent, and so impetuous,

as to render her the Talk of the Town. But Reason could not insinuate itself into that Princess's Mind. *Galba's* distinguish'd Rank, his high Employ, and yet greater Views, fill'd her Head with such strange Ideas, that she was persuaded she could not more effectually raise her Fortune, than by marrying that *Roman*. The numerous Conquests she had made in *Rome*, seem'd to flatter her with Success in this Undertaking; nor did she think there was any Reason for *Galba* to escape the Charms of her Beauty, to which so many others had surrender'd without long Resistance. But *Galba*, who knew *Agrippina* perfectly well, and look'd upon all the Steps she took, as so many Instances of her Weakness and Folly, or else as the Snares of her Ambition; despised all her Efforts, and convinced *Agrippina*, by his Indifference, that he had no manner of Inclination to her.

* *Sueton.*
in *Galb.*

Neither was it long before *Agrippina* perceiv'd this. *Lepida* being dead, and her two Sons also, *Galba* would never hear of marrying again. * He constantly refused all the Matches propos'd to him, and preferr'd the Sweetness and Tranquillity of a single Life, which return'd to him again upon the Death of his Wife, to the Troubles, and Cares, and other Perplexities, which too often attend the Marry'd State. Happy! if he could have contented himself with deserving the Empire, without taking that Charge upon him: But He suffer'd himself to be blindfolded by Ambition too; and as that Passion, which grasps at nothing less than Crowns and Scepters, frequently precipitates the Fall of the Minions it raises, *Galba* made upon the Throne a wretched Conclusion of his Life already far spent, which he might gradually and quietly have ended in his former Condition.

† *Plutarc.*
Vit. Galb.

† He was at *Cartagena*, when he shook off the Yoke of Obedience to *Nero*. The many Prodigies,

gies, which seem'd to promise him good Success; the flattering Predictions anciently made him, of his future Grandeur; the pressing Solicitations of *Vindex*, who commanded in the *Gauls*; and the Jealousy of *Nero*, who sent Orders to his Governors to put him to Death: All these prevail'd upon him to be proclaim'd Emperor. A Title, which yet he would not at first accept of; but chose rather to be call'd Lieutenant-General of the Senate and People of *Rome*; to insinuate, by this pretended Moderation, that he had no Desire of Sovereignty; and that it was only against *Nero's*, that he declared himself.

Galba was not very sure of carrying his Point; especially after the Death of *Vindex*, who was defeated by the Troops under *Verginius Rufus*, Governor of Upper *Germany*; for knowing nothing of the Agreement made between *Vindex* and their General, they attack'd him unawares; whereupon he in Despair slew himself. However, *Galba* hearing at *Clunia*, that *Nero* was dead, and that the Senate had proclaim'd him Emperor, he immediately set out for *Rome*.

* At *Narbonne* he met the Deputies of the Se-^{* Zonar.}
nate, and receiv'd them very handsomely; but ^{Annal.} refused *Nero's* Goods, which they carry'd him thither. This Modesty again heighten'd the good Opinion of him; but it was soon destroy'd, by the bloody Executions he order'd, as well upon the Road, as at his Entry into *Rome*. To this cruel Severity, he join'd an insatiable Avarice, which lost him the Hearts of the Soldiery; insomuch that seeing no Effect of the large Promises made to them in *Galba's* Name, they began to murmur, and said they did not like an Emperor chosen in *Spain*, without the Consent of the other Legions, but would have one that all the Armies should come into.

* *Tacit.*
Hist. l. 1.
Plutarch.
Vit. Galb.
Dio, l. 64.
Sueton.
in Galb.

This was a sort of Signal to Revolt; for * *Otho*, who had flatter'd himself that *Galba*, being very old, would adopt him, when these Hopes were cut off by his Adoption of *Piso*, was enraged at the Disappointment, and look'd upon it as the more unjust, in regard he was one of the first that declared for *Galba*, and engaged all *Lusitania*, whereof he was Governor, in his Interest: Wherefore, he bribed some Soldiers, who debauch'd more of their Companions; and thus the Poison spread itself, till they openly declared for *Otho*, saluted him *Emperor*, and brutishly assassinated *Galba*, who upon the Rumour of their Rebellion, hasten'd to the Camp, to appease the Tumult.



S A B I N A



SABINA POPPÆA,
CONSORT
TO
O T H O.




THO had no other Wife than *Sabina Poppæa*, whose History we have already given. He had resolv'd to marry *Statilia Messalina*, *Nero's* Widow, but was prevented by Death, as has been observ'd in its proper Place. He reign'd but three Months and two Days; to wit, from the 15th of *January*, to the 17th of *April*.





GALERIA FUNDANA,
C O N S O R T
T O
V I T E L L I U S.

 T requires a great deal of Moderation and Self-Denyal, to resist the powerful Charms of Sovereignty. 'Tis one of the hardest Tasks in Nature, to withstand the Pleasure of Commanding, let it be attended with never so many Cares and Inquietudes. The almost inevitable Dangers, which constantly surround the Ambitious; the Greatness of the Fall that threatens them; and the terrible Examples of so many illustrious Victims, whose Elevation has terminated in some dismal and violent Catastrophe, after several Years Pains and Solicitude in acquiring it, and perhaps thro' a Series of the most abominable Crimes; are not sufficient to draw from our Eyes that fatal Veil, which conceals all that is Shocking or Disagreeable, and would be apt to startle us; and gives us a Sight only of the Agreeable and Inviting, which captivates the Mind: So that we find there are a great many, who had rather be Unhappy amidst the Splendor of a Throne, than Happy in the Enjoyment of a moderate Fortune. *Agrippina* was told before-hand, that her Son's Advancement

vancement would be her Ruin; and that if he was Emperor, he would put her to Death: And yet that Princess, bewilder'd in the Mazes of Ambition, which never gave her one Moment's Rest, was willing that *Nero* should dip his Hands in his Mother's Blood, provided she had but the Pleasure of seeing him upon the Throne; not giving herself any Trouble about her Son's being a Parricide, provided that Parricide was invested with the Imperial Dignity.

Sextilia, Mother to the Emperor *Vitellius*, was a Person of very different Sentiments. * She never made Vows for the Aggrandizing of her Son. She look'd upon the soothing Prediction that was told her of his future Greatness, as an unlucky Omen; and lamented *Vitellius* as a lost Man, when she saw him General of the Army, and Emperor of *Rome*. Neither was *Galeria Fundana*, that Prince's Consort, less commendable for her Moderation, than her Mother-in-Law *Sextilia*. † She would never suffer her Eyes to be dazzled with the illusive Blaze of Sovereign Power; and notwithstanding what a certain § Historian says to the contrary, *Fundana* was as good-natured, and as humble in the Imperial Palace, that Zenith of human Grandeur, as in the paltry Chamber she lodg'd in, a little before her Husband's Elevation to the Empire. No Accident could ever shake the Firmness of her Mind: Her Moderation was not liable to Change: She was one of those that Nothing could alter: And the various Events and Vicissitudes of both Fortunes being receiv'd with an Evenness of Soul, well justify'd *Fundana's* glorious Character.

Vitellius was but newly come into the World, when the Astrologers made Predictions concerning his Destiny. As magnificent as they might seem, his Father and Mother were far from being proud of them, because they concluded with the Disasters

sters that were to accompany their Son's high Fortune, and the bloody and fatal End which should terminate his short Reign. So that, in order to elude their Accomplishment, they resolv'd to keep *Vitellius* at a Distance from Employs, and from all Occasions of being promoted to them. But Fortune baffled their Design: And we shall see, that the very Methods they took to hinder his Advancement, were precisely the Cause of his being advanced. They sent him very young to the Island of *Capræ*, whither *Tiberius* was retired, to conceal, amidst its Shades, his abominable Excesses. In this licentious School, where nothing was to be learnt but Lessons of Debauchery, authorized by the pernicious Examples of a Multitude of Persons, who were subservient to that Emperor's filthy Lusts, or Victims to his brutal Appetite; *Vitellius* imbibed the first Principles of Corruption. He soon copy'd after those hateful Originals, which were constantly before his Eyes; and it was by a shameful Prostitution of his Body, that he commenced the horrid Scene of Vices, with which he was afterward infected, and became so great a Proficient in.

His Crimes, however, serv'd as so many Steps to advance him to the highest Dignities; because they render'd him agreeable, and even dear, to *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*; whose Courts were drench'd in Vice, and to whose Favours the Superlative Degree of Wickedness was the surest Recommendation. In effect, he had the most considerable Offices, both in the State and the Priesthood, conferr'd upon him by those three Emperors.. He had the Care of the Publick Works, in which he did not behave with the strictest Integrity; for * he was accused of the detestable Sin of Sacrilege, in robbing the Temples of the Gifts and Ornaments bestow'd upon them,

* *Sueton.*
in Vitell.

them, and of changing several of them, by substituting Tin and Copper in the room of Silver and Gold. Nevertheless, he exercised the Proconsulate of *Africa* to general Satisfaction; upon his Return from whence, he marry'd *Petronia*, Daughter to a Gentleman who had been Consul of *Rome*. A Son, named from his Mother *Petronianus*, was the Fruit of this Marriage. He had but one Eye; and tho' this Defect did very much disfigure him, his Mother first prevail'd with *Vitellius* to emancipate him, by resigning his Tuition; and then left him her Heir. *Petronia* had her Reasons for taking this Precaution. She was not ignorant of her Husband's Proneness to Debauch, and apprehended that in Time he would swallow his Estate: And therefore she judg'd it advisable to secure what she had to her Son, by Emancipation, which render'd him and his Estate independent on his Father: But all this signify'd nothing. *Vitellius* having foolishly spent his Estate in the riotous Excesses of his Entertainments, and seeing no other way to furnish out his Extravagance, * resolv'd upon the barbarous Extremity of putting his Son to Death. For this end, he charged him with the Crime of Parricide, which he himself incurr'd by such an Act of Inhumanity; and to put some Colour upon his Design, gave out that *Petronianus*, touch'd with Remorse at the Villany of his Intention, had voluntarily drank the Poison he prepared for his Father.

* *Sutton.*
in *Vitell.*
cap. 6.

Vitellius and *Petronia* were not the happy'st Couple in the World, but broke off their Marriage by Divorce. Nor was the Lady long set free, but she engaged again with *Cornelius Dolabella*, a Senator of an illustrious Birth and Family. This hasty Wedding was so shocking to *Vitellius*, that it fill'd him with a keen Resentment against *Dolabella*; such as no Time, which

reconciles most things, could ever wear out : But
 * *Tacit.* * as soon as he was advanced to the Empire, and
Hist. l. 2. had it in his Power to revenge himself with Impunity, he cruelly put *Dolabella* to Death.

But neither did *Vitellius* tarry long after his Divorce, before he marry'd a second Wife, whose Name was *Galeria Fundana*, the Daughter of one that had been Prætor. She was not the most agreeable Woman in the World ; having a thick Tongue, which caus'd an Impediment in her Speech : But she had a great deal of Wisdom and Vertue, and a Character exempt from all kind of Suspicion. Rare Qualities these ! in an Age wherein Vice was rampant, and in a Court that pursued Maxims incompatible with the Duties of Conjugal Fidelity. From this Match sprung *Publius Vitellius*, who had the same Imperfection as his Mother, and express'd himself with so much Difficulty, that he might almost as well have been dumb. *Fundana* afterward lay in of a Daughter, who upon her Father's Misfortune, furnish'd *Vespasian* with an Opportunity of shewing his Generosity, by marrying her very much to her Advantage.

There is no sort of Vice, but *Vitellius* was
 † *Sueton.* train'd to at *Capra* ; so that he was † a Man irre-
in Vitell. coverably plunged in Debauches. The wretched
cap. 2. Examples he saw in that infamous Island were a fatal Seed, which Time and Opportunity made to sprout ; and he found but too many in the Reigns of *Caius*, *Claudius*, and *Nero* ; Princes, to whose Good-Graces there was no surer way, than that of Riot and Excess. His Belly was his God : He spent his Estate in gormandizing ; and to please his insatiable Appetite, wasted his Fortune to such a degree, and was reduced to so great Streights, that when the Emperor *Galba* gave him the Government of Lower *Germany*, he could not raise Money to carry him out of Town, till he thought

thought of letting his House to certain Persons who advanced a Sum upon it, and put his Mother, and his Wife *Fundana*, to lodge in a sorry Chamber.

Neither did this Expedient, which was mortifying enough to *Fundana*, make *Vitellius* perfectly easy; because it did not furnish what was necessary to defray the Expences of his Journey. And thus our Governor must have remain'd penurious at *Rome*, if his Mother had not made him a Present of her Jewels; which would hardly have answer'd neither, with all he could raise beside, had he not play'd the Sharper in all the Towns thro' which he pass'd.

Vitellius's ruin'd Circumstances gave *Fundana* a great deal of Concern: For what could be harder, than that a Lady of her Quality, who had always liv'd in the midst of Plenty, should be driven, as it were, from her Palace, in the most extreme Poverty? But these fatal Precipices must infallibly be the Consequence of the extravagant Charges, which Luxury, and Intemperance, and inordinate Lusts, involve Men in, when they make it their Business to feed and gratify them.

Now, the * Choice which *Galba* made of *Vitellius*, to command the Troops in Lower Germany, was the more surprizing to all the World, because he was known to be both unworthy and incapable of that Office.

† The Truth is, he had spent his whole Life in eating and drinking, and playing, and persuading himself, and ranging in the most voluptuous Fields of Pleasure. He was a Person of the meanest Cast of Soul, given up to Flattery, and incapable of any Sentiment of Honour. He was insolent, brutish, and even cruel to such as betray'd the least Fear of him; but timorous and humble to those who had the Courage to make Resistance: So that Men pleaded, in Justification

* *Sueton. in Vitell.*

† *Entrop. Sueton. Tacitus, Annal. 14. cap. 42.*

fication of *Galba's* Choice, that the Emperor had pitch'd upon one he had no Reason to apprehend Danger from, since the Provinces were able to furnish out wherewithal to satisfy his Gluttony.

* *Sueton.*
in *Vitell.*
cap. 7.

Vitellius was nevertheless receiv'd in his Government with great Demonstrations of Joy. * He affected a certain Air of Popularity, which gain'd him the Hearts of the People, and particularly of the Soldiery, who disliking *Galba's* austere and covetous Temper, and being naturally fond of Change and Novelty, saluted him Emperor, and gave him the Name of *Germanicus*.

† *Plutarc.*
Vit. Oth.
Sueton.
in *Oth.* &
in *Vitell.*

† This Election happen'd very *à-propos*; for it had not been made many days, when Advice was brought of *Galba's* Death: Whereupon *Vitellius* immediately resolv'd to march and give *Otho* Battle, who being in *Rome*, had possess'd himself of the Empire.

|| *Sueton.*
in *Otho.*
Tacit. Hist.
lib. I. c. 74.
Plutarch.
Vit. Oth.

Otho no sooner heard it, but whether he doubted the Success of the War, whether it was his Moderation, or (which is more likely) his Cowardice, he endeavour'd to stop *Vitellius's* March, by sending him Proposals of Accommodation. || He wrote him several Letters in the most Civil Expressions; and made him divers considerable Offers; as, for Instance, to associate him in the Empire, and to marry his Daughter. *Vitellius* answer'd him much after his own Style, and made him the very same Proposals: But the Way of Accommodation not succeeding, they began to lay Ambushes for each other. Immediately each for himself endeavour'd to strengthen his Army, by debauching the other's Soldiers; and grew so outrageous, that they wrote Letters full of the bitterest Invectives, and loaded each other with the blackest of Crimes; in which Point they were not, indeed, beside the Mark; for it was difficult to form a Judgment which was the more Worthless of the two: And last of all, they attempted

attempted to murder one another, tho' this did not take effect.

If, while this Quarrel happen'd between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Fundana* was in Pain for herself and Family; I know not who can blame her. She was at *Rome* in the Hands of *Otho*, who she fear'd had not Generosity enough to resist the Temptation that might come into his Head, to revenge himself upon his Enemy, in the Persons of his Wife and Children. *Vitellius* himself apprehended this more than once; for * he wrote to *Ti-* * *Tacit.*
tianus, who commanded in the City for his Bro- *Hist.* 1.
 ther *Otho*, that if they ill used *Fundana* and her *cap.* 75.
 Children, he would make Reprizals upon him and his Son, to whom he protested he would not give Quarter. But *Otho* acted a very honourable Part by them; and far from offering the least Injury to that Princess and her Family, order'd a particular Care to be taken of them. Whether this was the Effect of his Generosity, or of his Fear, is not easy to determine. But his Conduct herein, let it proceed from what Motive it would, makes it evident, that we ought not always to revenge ourselves upon our Enemies in the Persons of their Children, nor indeed on any thing that belongs to them.

Mean time, the War did not prove fortunate to *Otho*. His Troops were defeated in the Battle of *Bedriacum*: Whereupon, perceiving that the Legions and Provinces (those Retainers to Fortune) declared for *Vitellius*, he would not survive his Shame, but kill'd himself with a Resolution little expected from his soft and effeminate Course of Life. His Death united all the Suffrages in favour of *Vitellius*, who was generally recognized by the whole World. He was in *Gaul*, when he receiv'd the News of the Victory gain'd by his Generals, and of *Otho's* Death; and now he began to take the Mastery upon him. At first he
 did

did some Acts of Clemency and Justice, and affected the Gentle Strain; but as it was a borrow'd Character, he could not long maintain it, but soon appear'd in his proper Colours, without Affectation or Hypocrisy. He set out for *Rome*, and left behind him, in all Places upon the Road, Footsteps of his Gluttony and Cruelty. This last could not be better described, than by those Words of his, most worthy of a Tyrant, spoken on Occasion of his viewing the Spot of Ground whereon the Battle of *Bedriacum* was fought; which being cover'd with dead Bodies that cast forth a dreadful Stench, he made himself merry at the dreary Sight, * and said, (a) *A dead Enemy smelt well, but a dead Citizen afforded a much more agreeable Odour.*

* *Sueton.*
in Vitell.
cap. 10.

† *Tacit.*
Hist. 1.

† Mean while, the News of *Otho's* Death, and *Vitellius's* Approach, was soon convey'd to *Rome* by Fame, and by those who strove for the Honour of telling it first to *Fundana* and *Sextilia*, the new Emperor's Wife and Mother. Every body crowded to pay the most respectful Homage to those Princesses; Flattery acted its Part as usual, and ranged itself on Fortune's side: But these transporting Advices, these Honours, and these Crowds of Fawners, made no Impression upon the Mind of *Fundana*, or of her Mother-in-Law *Sextilia*. They look'd upon *Vitellius's* Advancement as a Snare laid for them by Fortune, and as the greatest Judgment that could befall him, whose Fate drew on, in proportion as his Grandeur increas'd. The Murder of *Galba*, the Death of *Otho*, and of preceding Emperors, were melancholy Prefages of what *Vitellius* was to expect from the Senate, the People, and the

(a) *Utque campos in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum labem, detestabili voce confu-* | *mare ausus est: Optime olere occisum hominem, & melius Civem. Sueton.*

Legions,

Legions, always ready to change Hands, and to fall in with the strongest Party, to which they brutishly sacrificed the Person whose Interest they quitted. Wherefore, when *Vitellius* wrote to his Mother, and gave himself the Name of *Germanicus*, *Sextilia* roundly declared that it * was not * *Tacit.* her Son's Name; for that she was Mother of *Hist. 2.* *Vitellius*, and not of *Germanicus*. But *Vitellius*, not content with taking it himself, tho' he had none of the rare Qualities which perfumed that great Prince's Memory, gave it also to his Son, whom he honour'd with all the Ornaments and Marks of a Prince. He even caus'd the whole Army to go and meet him, tho' he was yet but very young, and almost dumb. † Neither was this the only † *Sueton.* Instance of the Emperor's Vanity; which appear'd *in Vitell.* much more glaring in his pompous Entry into *cap. 11.* *Rome*. It was one of the most magnificent that *Tacitus,* ever was seen, and was thought the more extra- *Hist. l. 2.* *cap. 39.* vagant, because he was very unworthy of it. He enter'd the *Capitol* with a stately Equipage; where meeting his Mother, he gave her the Title of *Augusta*. And, which is most surprizing, he had the Insolence to make a tedious Elogium of his own Vertues to the Senate and People, who never knew any that he had. Nay, he was so shamelessly impudent, as to cry up his Temperance and Sobriety in a particular manner, in the Hearing of Men who had been a hundred times Witnesses to his Debauches, and had actually seen the Roads of *Italy* and the two Seas cover'd with Messengers sent abroad in Search of the most exquisite Dainties for that Prince's Table, and to furnish out his Treats: Infomuch that *Josephus* makes no Scruple to say, if his Reign had been long, the Revenues of the Empire would not have answer'd the single Expence of his Table.

It must undoubtedly be a Mistake in the || Histo- || *Aurel.* rian, to represent him as a Covetous Person, since *Vitt. Epit*

we see such large Footsteps of his Prodigality. He thought neither *Nero's* Apartments nor his Furniture magnificent enough, in his Palace of Gold; and * *Dio* tells us, *Fundana* was of the same Opinion. He says, this Empress enter'd the Imperial Palace with a ridiculous Pride, and a scornful Disdain; not thinking any thing magnificent enough for her, but laughing at every thing she set Eyes on; notwithstanding what *Tacitus* relates of that Princess, to whom he attributes Sentiments full of Modesty and Moderation. And indeed, I cannot believe but *Dio* must have been mistaken, because it is very unlikely that a Woman just removed from a paltry Chamber, poorly furnish'd, where she was not supply'd with all the Conveniences of Life, could so soon forget the mean and humble State from which she was rais'd, and entertain such haughty, not to say insolent, Thoughts, as to think that rich and delicate Furniture not good enough for her, which had serv'd so many Empresses her Predecessors, of higher Birth, and of as good a Taste, without Dispute, as herself. And there is the greater Reason to believe this a Mistake in *Dio*, and his † Abridger after him, because *Fundana* was never known to act in Contradiction to herself. § She shew'd the same Moderation upon the Throne of the Empire, as in the lowest Ebb of her Fortune. She never affected State and Grandeur; nor made any other Use of her Credit and Interest, than to do Good-Offices, and distribute Favours: As we read, for Instance, in the Story of *Galerius Trachalus*, *Otho's* Orator, whose Life she saved.

† *Xiphilin.*
in Vitell.

Tacit.
Histor.
l. 2. c. 64.

It were to be wish'd that *Vitellius* had follow'd her Example: But this Prince, pursuing his bad OEconomy, and worse Advice of his Sister-in-Law *Triaria*, that proud, insolent, and cruel Woman; he became a Monster in Cruelty, and in
all

all kinds of Debauchery. He took *Nero's* Reign for the Model of his Empire; and never was Model more nicely executed. Gluttony and Inhumanity were the two *Axes*, upon which all his Actions turn'd. * *Junius Blasus*, a Senator of the first Rank, and the finest Gentleman in *Rome*, fell under the Weight of a forged and unjust Accusation; and *Vitellius*, not content with procuring his Condemnation, would in Person attend the Execution, to give his Eyes the sanguinary Regale of seeing his Enemy perish. † The two Sons of another Person under Sentence of Death, suing with humble Application to him for their Father's Pardon, were made to share his Punishment, and died together with him, whose Life they endeavour'd to save. Lastly, he stain'd his Hands with his Mother's Blood, by causing her to be starv'd to Death, for the sake of a vain Prediction formerly told him, that his Reign would be long, if he survived her: As if Parricides were to be rewarded with Length of Life, by a God who has promised it only to such, as love and honour the natural Authors of their Being! Some have indeed been of the Opinion, that *Sextilia* laid violent Hands upon herself, as not being able to bear the scandalous Deportment of her Son; but foreseeing the Calamities he was bringing upon himself, she ask'd him (say they) for a Dose of Poison, which he had the Barbarity to give her. But were this true, *Vitellius* would not be a whit the less Guilty of his Mother's Death, because, among the Heathens themselves, || not to prevent a Crime, when it was in one's Power, was to become the Author of it.

* *Tacit. Histor. 3. cap. 39.*

† *Sueton. in Vitell.*

|| *Senec. Troas, Act. 2.*

His Gluttony was the most insatiable that ever was heard of. § He had never less than Four, often Five, Set Meals; to satisfy his greedy and voracious Appetite, of which he was sometimes

§ *Entrop. in Vitell.*

so

* Sueton.
in Vitell.

so far from being Master, * that he could not forbear drawing the Entrails of the Victims at the Sacrifices from the Fire, and eating them half-raw; or rather, scandalously devouring them in the Sight of the Multitude. He would invite himself to his Friends, who were obliged to entertain him with such Variety and Expence, that the least of their Treats came to a vast Sum of Money. But of all their Feasts, that which his Brother *Lucius Vitellius* made for him, seems the most extraordinary, and incredible: For we read, that beside the other Varieties, there were † serv'd up at his Table, two thousand Fishes, and seven thousand Fowls, the finest that could be got. But the Emperor's Profusion was never so conspicuous, as in that famous Repast, when one single Basson cost more Money than his Brother's whole Entertainment; it being fill'd with Pheasants Livors, Scar-Fish Tongues, Peacocks Brains, and the Entrails of Lampreys, and of all sorts of Fish and Fowl of great Price. These Excesses, and this Prodigality, which surpass'd all Bounds and Reason, may serve to convince us what Man is capable of, when Power and Authority come in to the Relief of his Inclinations.

† Entrop.
Sueton.
in Vitell.

While *Vitellius* was thus casting the Weight of the Administration upon his Free-Men, and indulging his voracious Appetite whole Days, and frequently whole Nights too, at the Table; *Vespasian*, who had distinguish'd himself by a great many glorious Actions, was proclaim'd Emperor, and acknowledg'd as such by all the East. *Primus Antonius*, one of his Generals, at the Head of the Legions of *Illyris*, march'd into *Italy*, won two (b) Battles, took and sack'd *Cremona*, and in

(b) In one of these Battles, gain'd by *Primus Antonius* over *Vitellius's* Troops, an Accident happen'd, which made both Parties curse the Civil

Wars. One of *Primus's* Soldiers having mortally wounded a Man of the contrary side, and fallen upon him with the Design to strip him, found these

these three Actions destroy'd above thirty thousand of *Vitellius's* Troops; the Consequence of which was, that the whole Empire declared for the Conqueror, excepting the City of *Rome*, where *Vitellius* was soon after abandon'd also to his evil Destiny.

Awaking now from his Lethargy, that Prince saw his Danger, when it was too late to avoid it; and thought himself unhappy, when he perceiv'd his Affairs beyond Redress. Determin'd, therefore, to forego the Sovereignty, and to resign it cowardly to his Competitors, * he quitted * *Tacit. Histor. 3. cap. 67.* the Palace, dress'd in Black, and accompany'd by *Fundana*, and his Children, and Domesticks. His Son was carry'd in a Litter, as at a Funeral Solemnity; and in this Mournful Plight, which rais'd Compassion in the Breasts even of those who had no Reason to love him, he pass'd thro' the Troops; and having assembled them and the People, told them in moving Terms, That he renounced the Empire for the sake of Peace, and the Good of the State; and only desired the Favour of them to have Pity on his Brother, and his Wife and Children: Then taking off his Sword, as a Token that he abdicated his Authority, he offer'd it to the Consul *Cacilius Simplex*, who refused it; and retired to the Temple of the Goddess *Concord*.

It was a piercing Sight, to behold the Empress *Fundana* leading her Daughter by the Hand from the Palace, all drown'd in Tears at the bitter Fate of a Prince forced to take Refuge in his

<p>that it was his own Father. They knew one another, and mutually embraced; the Father to shew his Paternal Affection; and the Son in Token of his Grief, that he should unfortunately prove his Father's Murderer. The poor</p>	<p>old Soldier died of his Wounds; and the only Comfort remaining to his Son, was the sorrowful one of burying the Man who had given him Life, and to whom he had been the Instrument of Death.</p>
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People's Compassion. But Sighs and Tears were of no Use in this Extremity. *Antonius's* Troops enter'd *Rome*, and possess'd themselves of the Palace, where *Vitellius* had just been gormandizing, as he was wont at other times; till taking Fright at the Noise of the Soldiers, he got away privately, and went to *Fundana's* Lodgings, where he was no sooner arrived, but he wanted to be at the Palace again. Returning accordingly, and finding it abandon'd by all his Domesticks, he hid himself behind a Bed in the Porter's Chamber, where he had a Scuffle with the Dogs, that bit him till they drew Blood. * It was not long, before this Retreat was discover'd; and he was haled out with all the Marks of Infamy, and led thro' the City with his Hands tied behind him. Nay, to aggravate his Shame, the Point of a Dagger was held under his Chin all the way, to make him hold up his Head. They offer'd him all the Outrages and Indignities they could think of; cast Dirt, and even Dung, in his Face; and call'd him Trencher-Man, and Incendiary. Lastly, after all the most poignant Insults, they kill'd him by little and little, and threw his Body into the *Tyber*.

Lucius Vitellius, the Emperor's Brother, and young *Vitellius*, were also sacrificed to the Publick Tranquillity. *Licinius Mucianus*, who did what he pleas'd with *Vespasian*, judg'd it advisable to choak the Seeds of Discord in the Blood of that young Prince: But the Emperor was not so cruel with regard to *Vitellius's* Daughter, whom he marry'd very honourably. And this was the only Consolation *Fundana* had, who pass'd the Remainder of her Life in Sorrow and Mourning.



DOMITILLA,

* *Tacit.*
Histor. 3.
Sueton.
in Vitell.
Entrop.



DOMITILLA, CONSORT TO VESPASIAN.



FLAVIA DOMITILLA is not so well known for what happen'd in her Life, which was very obscure, as for the Honours paid her after her Death, or, at least, after *Vespasian* was settled upon the Throne. She was Daughter to *Flavius Liberalis*, Register of the Treasury. * This Em-^{* Sueton. in Vesp.}ploy much exceeded the utmost of his Hopes; for he came of so mean a Family, that his Daughter *Domitilla* was forced to be a Slave to *Capella*, a Roman Knight, till her Father † having by his † ^{Aurel. Vict. Exc. in Tit.} long Services merited the Office of Register of the Treasury, she was upon that Consideration declared Free, and a Citizen of *Rome*.

Vespasian was Prætor in *Caligula's* Reign, when he marry'd *Domitilla*. She was not the first Object of his Inclination; *Cenis*, Free-Woman and Secretary to *Antonia*, *Claudius's* Mother, having made the Conquest of his Heart many Years before. Nay, *Vespasian* passionately lov'd her, at the very time that he marry'd *Flavia*.

Sprung from a Family of no great Note, *Vespasian* had undoubtedly remain'd in Obscurity, if the Worst of Fortune were not as liable to Change, as the Best: But *Narcissus*, who then did what he would at Court, took him into his Protection, and promoted him to the most considerable Employ, wherein *Vespasian* shew'd the Brightness and Elegance of his Parts. It was owing to that Free-Man's Interest, that he was made Lieutenant of a Legion, at the Head of which he perform'd such notable Exploits, both in *Great-Britain* and *Germany*, as acquired him a glorious Reputation, and were rewarded with the Priesthood, a Triumph, and the Consulate; which when he came to exercise at *Rome*, he found his Wife *Domitilla* lying in of a Son, whom he named *Titus*; and this Son succeeded him in the Empire.

These glaring Honours were a warm Incentive to *Vespasian's* Ambition; who had, beside, the Advantage of Prognosticks to ground his Pretences to Fortune upon. He was promis'd the Sovereignty by an Oracle; and his Successes in the Field seem'd to open the way to it. In effect, two powerful Nations reduced, twenty Towns taken, an Island conquer'd, and all within a very little Compass of Time, were Beginnings too glorious and promising, not to swell the Hopes of a Man naturally ambitious; who was fondly superstitious withall, and had Presages of his great Advancement, to which he gave an entire Credit. But all these Expectations of *Vespasian*, all his Prospects of Grandeur, and his vast Ideas, were soon confounded: His Fortune had well nigh sunk with that of *Narcissus*, his main Support; and the Fall of that Free-Man had like to have ruin'd *Flavia's* Husband to all Intents and Purposes. The Empress *Agrippina* having conceiv'd an implacable Hatred against *Narcissus*, her Resentment was level'd at every Favourite of that
unhappy

unhappy Man; so that after she had destroy'd her Principal Enemy, she made it her Business to ruin those who were his Friends. The Absolute Power she had obtain'd over the Emperor *Claudius*, her Spouse, render'd every thing feasible that she undertook: But however, to give some Colour to her Persecution, Informers were provided against those mark'd out for Destruction; that they might seem to be punish'd for their Crimes, and not for their Adherence to *Narcissus*.

* *Vespasian*, whom innumerable Obligations had * *Sueton.*
engaged in that Courtier's Interest, well perceiv'd *in Vespas.*
the Danger of tarrying at *Rome*, where his Life could not be secure: For *Agrippina* wanted only a Pretence, to take it away; and in all Probability, she would not have been long in finding one, had not *Vespasian* wisely resolv'd to fly with his Wife *Domitilla* to some remote Place of Sanctuary. To this Retreat he ow'd both his Life, and his Felicity: It not only shelter'd him from the Fury of *Agrippina's* Resentment; but it restored to *Flavia* the entire Affection of her Husband, which was half ravish'd from her by *Cenis*; and they had the Satisfaction to see an Increase of their Family, by the Birth of *Domitian*, and of a Daughter, named (after the Mother) *Flavia Domitilla*, which last did not long survive.

The Storm being over, and *Agrippina's* Revenge appeas'd, *Vespasian* grew weary of his Quiet and Obscurity, and return'd to *Rome*, the only Theater, in his Opinion, for displaying the Excellence of his Talents, and advancing himself to the highest Dignities: But Fortune had a mind to put him once more to the Trial, and to shew him the Effect of her Malice or Caprice. For when *Nero* was making the Tour of *Achaia*, *Vespasian* attended him, and had the Unhappiness to incur his Displeasure, by falling asleep while the Emperor was singing. This Want of Compaissance was

such an Affront upon *Nero*, that he forbid *Vespasian* ever after to come into his Presence. He could not be sure, but the Emperor would carry his Resentment yet farther; and as he was no Stranger to his violent Passions, he did not think it proper to continue near him, but sought a new *Asylum*, where he tarry'd till the Tempest was scatter'd. Neither did he wait long; for Fortune never lost Sight of him, till she had made him ample Amends for all the Disasters of his Life.

* *Sueton.*
in Vespas.
Tacitus,
Hist. l. i.
cap. 10.
Joh. xix.

* The *Jews*, who always look'd upon the Government of the *Romans* as a bitter Reproach, as well as a heavy Bondage, forgot the sacrilegious Protestations they had formerly made, that they would have no King but *Cæsar*; and, infatuated with some vain (a) Prediction, which seem'd to promise them the Empire, they resolv'd to shake off the Yoak that so sorely gall'd their Necks. In this stupid Confidence, they barbarously murder'd their Governor; and the † News of their Revolt reaching *Nero's* Ears, put him into such a dreadful Passion, that he swore, he would in Revenge exterminate a People, whom neither

† *Nicephor.*
Callist.
Hist. l. 3.

(a) The *Jews* had an ancient Prediction, that the Empire of the Universe would fall into the Hands of some body that should come from the East; and *Josephus* himself tells us, that in *Nero's* Reign, there was found, among the old Records in the Temple, a Prophecy, positively asserting, that about that Time there would rise up from among the *Jews*, the Person who was to command the whole Earth. The *Jews* interpreted this deluding Prophecy in their own Favour; and not doubting but the Time of their Deliverance drew near, they rebell'd against the Ro-

mans. *Josephus*, desirous to make his Court, put a Political Interpretation upon it, and attributed it to *Vespasian*; so that neither one nor the other had a Notion, that this Prophecy related only to *Jesus Christ*, to whom God had promis'd the *Heathen* for his Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth for his Possession, as the Royal Psalmist expresses it. Agreeably whereto, the Empire of our Saviour did then extend itself all the World over, by the Ministry of the Apostles, who preach'd the Gospel in all the Corners of the Earth.

Threats,

Threats, nor Punishments, nor Acts of Clemency, could reconcile to Obedience. * On the other * *Luk. xix.* hand, God's appointed Time for the Destruction ^{41.} of *Jerusalem* drew near. It was Time, that that Stoner of the Prophets should expiate her horrid Deicide; and that the yet reeking Tracks of the adorable Blood of *Jesus Christ*, which that City had shed, should be bury'd under its Ruins. In a word, it was Time, that its demolish'd Turrets and Palaces, its razed Walls, and shatter'd Houses, should justify the Occasion of the Tears of the Son of God, which in Prophetick Grief he had shed on the account of so terrible a Desolation.

Nero, having need of a very able General for this important Expedition, immediately cast his Eyes upon *Vespasian*, as a General of consummate Experience and Abilities; and *Vespasian* well answer'd his highest Expectation. He put himself at the Head of the Legions, march'd with them to *Judaea*, and reduced the whole Country, except the City of *Jerusalem*. Amidst these Military Exploits, his Wife *Domitilla* died; but hardly any Notice was taken of her Death, she was so very little known in her Life-time. Nor was it till after Flattery had immortalized her, and placed her among the Goddesses, that *Flavia Domitilla's* Name grew into Vogue.

Upon *Nero's* Death, the Empire was divided into Factions. *Galba's* Reign was short; because *Otho* aspired at the Sovereignty, and got him murder'd. *Otho* enjoy'd but two or three Months, a Dignity acquired by so foul an Act: And *Vitellius's* Excesses having render'd him odious, *Vespasian*, who was then in the East, at the Head of a considerable Army, was proclaim'd Emperor. At first, he made some Difficulty of accepting the Sovereignty, which the Legions so ardently press'd upon him; till at last, overcome by the earnest Solicitations of *Mucianus*, Governor of *Syria*, who

promis'd to stand by him, he took the Surnames of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and advanced toward *Rome*, to give *Vitellius* Battle, who dishonour'd the Empire by his effeminate and dissolute Course of Life.

Being at *Alexandria*, they brought to him a Man that was blind, and another that was lame, who beg'd that he would heal them, upon the Assurance they pretended to have receiv'd from the God *Serapis*, that *Vespasian* could do it, by only touching the Cripple's Leg with the Extremity of his Foot, and anointing the Eyes of the blind Man with his Spittle. * The Emperor was a Prince of too much Sense, to give Attention to this idle Dream; and, to avoid exposing himself to Publick Ridicule, refused to do what they desired; till tired with the Importunities of those two poor Wretches, and with the Solicitations of his Friends, he resolv'd to do any thing they would have him. He wet the blind Man's Eyes with his Spittle, and immediately he recover'd his Sight; and scarce had he touch'd the lame one's Leg with his Foot, but he walk'd as well as ever he had done in his Life. These things gave Occasion to Variety of Discourses; but as they are foreign to my Purpose, I leave the Reader to believe just what he pleases of them.

* Tacit.
Histor. 4.
Sueton. in
Vespasian.

Tho' *Vespasian* had a great deal of Merit, it is nevertheless certain, that he ow'd his Advancement partly to the shameful Disorders of *Otho* and *Vitellius*, who were deem'd unworthy of the Empire, and partly to the Services of the two Generals who declared in his Favour, and supported his Interest by such Feats in War, as equal'd their Courage and their Skill to those of the greatest Captains of Old *Rome*. One of these was † *Licinius Mucianus*, whose Vices are said to have balanced his Vertues, if not to have out-strip'd them; for which Reason, he may be reckon'd more

† Tacit.
Histor.

more fit to *make* an Emperor, than to *be* one. The other was *Primus Antonius*, a Native of *Toulouse* in *Gaul*, nicknamed in his Infancy *Becco*, as much as to say *Cock's Bill*. * This Person had ^{*Sueton.*} been found Guilty of some Misdemeanour, for ^{*in Vitell.*} which he was degraded from the Dignity of a Senator, tho' afterward restored by † *Galba*, ^{*† Tacit. Annal. 14*} without much Enquiry into the Merits of the Cause. Upon this mortifying Disgrace, he went and offer'd his Service to *Nero*: But that Prince taking no Notice of him, ‖ *Antonius Primus* try'd ^{*‖ Dio, lib. 65.*} the Strength of his Genius, and so finely managed his Intrigues, that he made himself General of an Army, without receiving his Command from the Hands of any Person whatever. He was brave, bold, and enterprizing; and the fittest Man in the Universe to execute a hasty Design at a Push. He was a perfect Master in the Art of War; and always shew'd the firmest Intrepidity in the midst of Danger. But on the other hand, he was naturally quarrelsome, and delighted in Brawls and Contentions; a dangerous Man in Times of Peace and Idleness; and equally given to Plunder and Prodigality. These were the two Generals, that made *Vespasian* Emperor, by their important Services.

Upon his first Arrival at *Rome*, he set about regulating the City, the Face of which had been quite changed by the late Disorders. He recover'd, from the Darkness of Oblivion, the Name and Memory of his Wife *Flavia Domitilla*, by procuring her a Decree of Immortality. Temples were erected, and Altars consecrated to her Honour, and Priests instituted by the very Name of *Flavia Domitilla*. In short, they idolized a dead Woman; and *Vespasian's* Wife, who was hardly ever heard of at *Rome* during her Life, was placed among the Stars out of a posthumous Adoration, and, by an impious *Apotheosis*, increas'd the Number of the Deities.

Cenis,

* *Xiphil.*

† *Dio,*
lib. 66.

Cenis, a Slave set Free, rais'd her Fortune upon the Emperor's Advancement. *Vespasian's* Affection for her was such, that he took her home to his Palace, and constantly treated her with the same Consideration, as if she had been his Lawful Wife. It must be own'd, however, that *Cenis's* Merit might claim that Reward. * She was a Woman of so much good Sense, as render'd her fit even to govern. Her Penetration was so deep, that nothing escaped it; and her Discernment so just, that nothing could deceive it. It was *Cenis*, that discover'd, to her Mistress *Antonia*, the perfidious and ambitious Designs of *Sejanus*, which that Princess immediately communicated to *Tiberius*. And beside the rare Qualities already mention'd, she had a good Share of Politicks, whereby she always maintain'd herself in *Vespasian's* Good-Graces; for she study'd his Humour, and never thwarted his Inclination; but being acquainted with his covetous Temper, would invent a thousand ways to gratify that insatiable Desire of Wealth, with which he was consumed. † All the Offices of the Empire were expos'd to Sale. The Government of Provinces, and the Command of Armies, were conferr'd upon the highest Bidders. The Priesthood, that sacred Dignity! and the Absolution of Crimes, were purchas'd for Gold! They carry'd on a sacrilegious Traffick in the most Sacred things: And, in short, there was no Office, how Honourable soever, but the Vilest of Men might aspire to, if they came with their Hands well fill'd. And to whom should they address themselves, but *Cenis*? that crafty Woman, who turn'd every thing, even her Credit and Authority, into Money. There was nothing you could see or name, but it was tax'd, and bore the Marks of the Emperor's monstrous Avarice. *Vespasian* sordidly catch'd at every the least Opportunity of getting Money;

Money; he liked Profit, let it arise from what Quarter it would: And one day, when his Son *Titus* express'd a sort of Shame, that a Duty should be laid upon Urine, the Emperor took a Piece of Money out of his Pocket, and holding it to *Titus's* Nose, told him, it smelt never the worse, for arising from a Duty upon Urine. It was in this Train of amassing prodigious Wealth, that *Lenis* died, much lamented by *Vespasian*. Neither did that Prince long survive her; but Death eased him of the painful Exercise of the Government, after he had fully'd the Decline of his Reign with the Execution of (*b*) *Sabinus*, for

(*b*) If *Sabinus's* History is worth relating; much more is that of his Wife's Fidelity. *Sabinus* was a Native of *Langres*; a Man of Quality, Wealth and Ambition. His Spouse's Name was *Eponina*, a Lady of strict Vertue, and incomparable Beauty. During the Troubles in the *Gauls*, which lasted all the time that *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian* were struggling for the Empire, there was no General of an Army, or Governor of a Province, who did not think he had a fair Pretension to the Empire. *Sabinus* was one who conceiv'd this Notion; and thereupon, following blindly the Dictates of Ambition, he procured himself to be saluted Emperor. The Assistance he was promis'd from those of his own Nation, encouraged him to undertake this bold Enterprize: And beside, he pretended to spring from the Blood of *Julius Caesar*, who had been detected in an Affair of Gallantry with his Grand-Mother, during his Residence in the *Gauls*. Thus, backing his Vanity with an unaccountable Temerity, he turn'd his Arms against the *Romans*. But this Revolt proved very unfortunate; his Troops being entirely defeated, so that every Man of his Party either betook himself to Flight, or put himself to Death, to avoid falling into the Hands of the *Roman* Generals, who spared none of these Rebels, but made them undergo the Punishment they thought their Crime deserv'd. *Sabinus* might have retired into the Heart of *Gaul*, where he would have been safe: But finding himself unable to abandon his Wife, whom he entirely lov'd, and of whom he was as well belov'd, he flatter'd himself, that he might in Time obtain his Pardon, and resolv'd to conceal himself till the Troubles were at an end. He had a Country-House well provided with Caves under ground, which it was impossible to discover, without being conducted to them: And of all *Sabinus's* Domesticks, who were very numerous, there were but two Free-Men, in whom he had an entire Confidence, who knew a Crime,

a Crime, which nine Years Penance, the Tears of a Wife, and the Cries of two young Children

anything of those Caves. *Sabinus* takes these Free-Men aside, and tells them his Design to hide himself in the Caves, till he should find Affairs in a proper Disposition for him to sue out his Pardon; adding, that to prevent Search being made for him, it was convenient to spread a Report, that he had poison'd himself, and was dead. This Scheme was very well executed. *Sabinus* call'd all his Servants together, and told them, that after the Misfortune of seeing the Disappointment of his Hopes, and the Miscarriage of his Designs, he could not doubt, but they would make him undergo the cruel'st Torment, should he happen to fall into the Hands of those, who had already put as many of his Companions to Death, as they could get into their Power; and that to prevent such a Fate, he was resolv'd to put a Period to his Life. Then he thank'd them for their Services and Fidelity, and discharged them all, except the two Free-Men, who were in the Secret. To these he gave what Instructions were necessary, and so bury'd himself, as one may call it, in those subterraneous Vaults; upon which, his House was set on Fire by his Direction, and soon consumed to Ashes. This Fire was immediately attributed to *Sabinus's* Despair; and it was the more readily believ'd, because the two Free-Men industriously reported, where-ever they came, that *Sabinus*, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Emperor's Generals, had poi-

son'd himself, and was burnt in his House, to prevent any Insult that might be offer'd to his Corpse. The Story was farther confirm'd by *Eponina's* Mourning, who verily believing what *Martial* (one of the Free-Men in the Secret) told her concerning *Sabinus's* Death, gave herself up to an inconsolable Sorrow. She fill'd the House with her Sighs and her Groans, and shed Tears like a Wife who had lost the dearest of Husbands. She was visited by all the Persons of Distinction at Rome, who urged the most Consolatory things to her: But *Eponina*, resolving not to survive a Husband she had so tenderly lov'd, and now imagined herself bereft of, would not take any Nourishment for three days. The Report of *Sabinus's* Death was universally spread, and as universally believ'd. *Eponina's* solemn and serious Mourning, the House burnt, the Free-Men discarded; these were Circumstances, that left no room to doubt it. Mean while, *Martial* went and inform'd *Sabinus*, from time to time, how things stood; and the poor Gentleman, fancying his Wife might carry her Grief too far, order'd the trusty Free-Man to go to her, and undeceive her; but to charge her, at the same time, not to make the least Alteration in her Conduct, lest they should discover what it so much concern'd him to keep secret, for the Preservation of his Life. *Eponina* knew well the Importance of the Affair, and went on in her Mourning, might

might (one would think) have expiated. An Act of Severity, or rather of Cruelty, little expected

without any visible Change, tho' it was not so hearty and sincere; till, quite devour'd with Impatience to see once more the dear Spouse she had so heartily bewail'd, she made him a Visit, one Night, in his Cave, and return'd without being perceiv'd. This encouraged her to repeat her Visits for seven Months together successively; but every Visit was attended with a great deal of Trouble and Danger: So that, to spare the one, and prevent the other, she had *Sabinus* brought, one Night, into her own House, among some old Goods and Trumpery contrived on purpose to hide him. Before he had been long here, *Eponina* fancy'd, that considering how many Visits she had, it was almost impossible but he must sooner or later be discover'd; and thereupon he was convey'd back again to his darksome and uncomfortable Abode, where his Lady visited him for nine Years together, without being perceiv'd. What is very particular, and most to be admired, is, that *Eponina* proving with Child, and apprehending upon just grounds, that her Great-Belly would explain the Mystery to the Ladies, whose Conversation she must unavoidably have, if not in the Assemblies, nor in the Temples, at least at the Baths; she made use of an Ointment, the Nature of which was, to swell the Part anointed; and thus, by the Swelling of her Arms and her Legs, she conceal'd that of her Belly, which was thought to proceed from some Distemper. She

had even the Strength and the Courage, to go through the Pangs of Child Birth without a Groan, and to bring into World, without the Assistance of a Mid-wife, Twin-Sons, which she nurs'd in the Cave as long as her Husband tarry'd there.

At last, *Eponina*'s frequent Absence was taken Notice of, and made People believe there was something Mysterious in it. They narrowly watch'd her Motions; and by this means discover'd *Sabinus*'s Lurking-Hole. The Consequence was, he was immediately seiz'd, loaded with Irons, and drag'd to Rome, with his Wife and two Children. As soon as they appear'd before *Vespasian*, *Eponina* threw herself at his Feet, and presenting her Twins to him, assured him, "That she had long since waited upon him, to address his Clemency for her Husband's Pardon, who had appear'd at the Head of a Party, not so much out of Ambition, and the Desire to reign, as thro' Indiscretion, the Influence of bad Advice, the Calamities of the Civil Wars, and to deliver himself out of the Hands of Tyrants; but I stay'd Sir, said she, till these two Boys here should be of Age to join their Sighs and Tears with their Mother's; to the end that the Number of Supplicants being greater, your Anger might the more easily be disarm'd. I brought them forth in a sort of Sepulcher, added she; and I can assure your Majesty, this is the first Day they ever from

from an Emperor, who in other Instances had not shewn himself of a sanguinary Temper.

“ beheld the Light. -- Let our
 “ Tears, our Sighs, and our
 “ Misfortunes, move you to
 “ compassionate our distress’d
 “ Condition !

Eponina’s Speech, and the dismal Spectacle, which she and her two little Sons lying at *Vespasian*’s Feet, and imploring their Father’s Pardon, made, fill’d as many as were present with Tenderness and Pity ; nor did any one doubt, but the Emperor would grant *Sabinus* his Life to the Sighs of his Spouse, and the Tears of the two poor Innocents, who so earnestly begg’d it. So rare an Example of Conjugal Love deserv’d no less at *Vespasian*’s Hands, than that he should have given *Sabinus* as a Reward for *Eponina*’s generous Fidelity and Constancy : But that Prince was inexorable,


and condemn’d *Sabinus* to Death, to intimidate, by an ill-timed Severity, those whom Ambition might prompt to raise Disturbances in the State. *Eponina* perceiving her Husband’s Ruin, desired nothing more than to share his Fate ; and assuming an austere and manly Countenance, she told the Emperor, with an Air of Intrepidity, that she did not at all value Life, tho’ she had liv’d nine Years with *Sabinus*, in a gloomy Cavern of the Earth, with more Content and Satisfaction, than He amidst all the Pomp and Splendor of a Throne. She upbraided him severely on the score of his Cruelty ; and after having set an admirable Example of Conjugal Love and Fidelity, she gave another Example of Heroick Generosity.



MARCIA



MARCIA FURNILLA,
CONSORT
TO
TITUS.

 *TITUS*, who in a Private Capacity had been a very dissolute and debauch'd Man, made a Prince of admirable Wisdom and Clemency. He was educated in *Claudius's* Court, along with Prince *Britannicus*, under the same Masters, and in the same Exercises. Hence that particular Familiarity there always was between them; which had like to have proved fatal to *Titus*, when he * tasted the Draught that sent *Britannicus* to his long Home. * *Sueton. in Tit.*

Titus, while he was at Court, had a Presage of his future Advancement. One day, *Narcissus*, *Claudius's* Free-Man and Secretary, having sent for a Physiognomist, to give his Opinion of *Britannicus's* Fate; the Star-Gazer positively assured him, that that Prince would never be Emperor, but he that stood by him, pointing to *Titus*.

Probably it was the young Gentleman's † fine † *Tacit. Histor. 2. cap. 2.* Aspect, that occasion'd this Conjecture. In his Countenance shone a certain Majesty, blended with Sweetness, which gave him the Air of a Prince, rather than of a Private Person. § He § *Eutrop. lib. 7.* was

* *Sueton.*
in *Tit.*

was moreover a perfect Master in all sorts of Exercises. He had a prodigious Memory, a great Readiness in composing either Verse or Prose, and such an * admirable Knack at counterfeiting any Hand, that it was impossible to distinguish it from the True. Hence he would often say, he should have made an excellent Forger, if he had given his Mind to it.

After he had serv'd some time in *Germany* and *England*, in the Post of (a) Military Tribune, he had an Inclination to the Law, and to plead at the Bar. During the Interval that he follow'd his Studies for this end at *Rome*, he marry'd *Arricidia Tertulla*, Daughter to a Gentleman of the Equestrian Order, who had been Colonel of the Emperor's Guards: But that Lady dying soon after, he marry'd, in the second place, *Marcia Furnilla*, who was descended of one of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*.

It was not long, before this new-marry'd Couple was obliged to part. *Vespasian*, who was employ'd in the Conquest of *Judaea*, sent for his Son *Titus*; and afterward left the Command of the Army to him, when he quitted it himself, to return to *Rome*, and take Possession of the Empire, secured to him by *Vittelius's* Death. *Titus* acquitted himself in this Command, with all the Ability of an old and experienced General, and did the Office of a Soldier, as well as of a Commander. He took the City of *Jerusalem*, after a long Siege; during which the *Jews* suffer'd all the Calamities that it is possible for a People, forsaken of an angry God, to suffer; and the

(a) The Office of Military Tribune, or Tribune of the Forces, was very considerable in the Infancy of the Republick; those who exercised it having then a great Authority in the Armies: But under the Emperors, their Wings were very much clipt; for then they were little better than our Colonels.

Resistance

Resistance made by that unfortunate City, serv'd only to heighten the Glory of the (b) Conqueror.

The Town was taken upon the 8th of *September*; a Day remarkable to *Titus* for another Reason, which was, the Birth of a Daughter *Furnilla* lay in of at *Rome*. She was named *Julia Sabina*; but we shall find, that this young Princess did not inherit her Father's Vertues. Neither did *Titus*, while he commanded in *Judæa*, apply himself altogether to the Affairs of War; but as careful as he was of his Duty in that respect, 'tis certain he did not neglect the Princess *Berenice*. This Lady was Sister to King *Agrippa*; and her Charms appear'd so irresistible to the *Roman* General, that in the Transports of his Passion he promis'd to marry her.

After the *Jewish* Expedition, *Titus* return'd to *Rome*, cover'd with Laurels. Here he was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy, and had the Honour of a Triumph in Conjunction with his Father, amidst the Applauses and Acclamations of the whole City, which beheld him with Admiration. But he soon effaced the advantageous Idea they had conceiv'd of him, by a very irregular Course of Life. He addicted himself to the Vice of Habits; pass'd entire Nights at Table with the Debauchees of *Rome*; pursued the most infamous Pleasures; and joining to all these Excesses a barbarous Cruelty, he acquired to himself the Appellation of *Nero the Second*.

(b) *Titus* verify'd our Saviour's Prophecy of *Jerusalem*; all the Miseries he had denounced against the *Jews*, now falling heavily upon them. They suffer'd all sorts of Calamities; but above all, they were visited with so dreadful a Famine, that a Woman, to prevent Starving, had the barbarous Courage, or rather Cruelty, to kill her sucking Babe,

Z

His

His Amour with *Berenice* render'd him contemptible to the last degree. People could not endure that he should shew such a violent Passion for that Foreigner, whom it was surmiz'd he had Thoughts of raising to the Empire; and they attributed to his Jealousy the Murder of *Cecinna*, a Gentleman that had been honour'd with the Consular Dignity. Some indeed have urged, in Excuse for what *Titus* did on this Occasion, that he was under an absolute Necessity of preventing the ill Designs of that ambitious *Roman*, who (they say) instill'd Principles of Rebellion into the Soldiery; and not only so, but there was found in his Pocket, an artful and seditious Speech of his own Composing, calculated to incite the Legions to revolt: But the more Refined treat this pretended Crime as an undoubted Forgery, trump'd up on purpose to authorize *Cecinna's* Murder, which was in Truth the Effect of *Titus's* Jealousy: For, imagining that *Berenice* could not be altogether insensible with regard to a Man so desperately enamour'd of her, as *Cecinna* was; he resolv'd to rid himself of that tormenting Rival: And he did it in a scandalous Manner for so great a Prince; the Fact being this: He invited him one Evening to Supper; and, in Violation of the sacred Laws of Hospitality, caus'd him to be murder'd in his own Palace, after he had taken Leave, and was just stepping out of the Parlour, to return home, little suspecting so foul a Treachery.

It is natural to conceive, that *Titus's* Passion for *Berenice* being thus ardent, he could not have much Love left for his Wife *Furnilla*; but he was easily determin'd to repudiate her; and this Divorce confirm'd the World in their Suspicion, that he design'd *Berenice* for the Throne of the Empire. Monstrous Innovation! which immediately turn'd all the Hearts of the People against him; their Abhorrence of *Titus's* Design being now no less remarkable, than

than it had formerly been against *Mark Anthony's*, when he promis'd *Cleopatra* the Empire.

Nevertheless, *Titus* soon put an End to all these evil Reports. No sooner was he advanced to the Throne, upon his Father *Vespasian's* Death, but he shew'd himself quite another Man, and seem'd, with his Fortune and Condition, to have changed his Nature also, and Inclination. His Glory, and Reputation, and Study to please his People, were above all other Passions of his Soul; and the Day of *Titus's* Inauguration put a final Period to his Love for *Berenice*. That Prince, who in Contempt of the Laws had been her Slave, became now a Slave to the Laws he had despised, and Master to *Berenice* whom he had adored. He discarded this unhappy Queen, and obliged her to go and bury in *Judaea* those potent Charms, to which he had surrender'd with so much Pleasure, and so little Reserve; and by this illustrious Sacrifice, which doubtless cost him (c) very dear, convinced all Mankind, that he was Master of his Passions. Their Parting, however, was very moving: *Berenice* reproach'd her Lover, in a Manner tender enough to pierce the most insensible Heart. She reminded him of all the kind things she had done for him; how the Violence of her Love had prevail'd with her to leave her Country, and traverse so many Provinces, to follow a Prince that was now going to abandon her. She insisted upon the Promises he had so often made, not only to love her, but even to marry her, which he might perform as soon as he pleas'd: And *Titus*, on his part, protested what Violence the rigorous Laws of the Empire did his Heart, in obliging him to banish from his Sight an Object so dear to him. *Berenice* set out, consumed with Grief and Despair; and return'd to the East, to repent at leisure the

(c) *Dimisit invitum invitam*. Sueton. in Tit.

fond Credulity, which had induced her to follow *Titus* to *Rome*, in hopes he would marry her; Love having deprived her of all Thoughts of her Reputation: To instruct, by her Misery, those of her Sex, how little they are to rely upon the deluding Promises made to them by the other Sex in the Height of Passion; which they can violate with the same Ease that they make them.

Titus now apply'd himself altogether to render the World as happy as he could. In his Conduct shone out all the Vertues that go to the Accomplishment of a great Prince; and he carry'd them to such Perfection, that he was call'd *the Love and Delight of Mankind*. A Title much more glorious and desirable, than all those pompous Surnames, and fawning Encomiums, bestow'd upon the dissolute Emperors who reign'd before him, and deserv'd rather the Appellation of Tyrants, than Fathers of the People.

But more particularly, *Titus* carry'd his Generosity as high as any great Prince could do. He took Delight in granting Petitions, in making Presents, and doing Good-Offices; and was often heard to say, *none who came to speak with the Prince ought to go away dissatisfy'd*. His Hands were always ready to distribute Favours; and he was of so great and liberal a Soul, that one Evening, calling to Mind that no body had been that day to ask a Favour of him, he express'd his Concern to those who were at Table with him, by saying, *Ah, my Friends, this Day is lost to me!* Sentiments truly worthy of a great Emperor, and so well comprized in a few Words, that all Historians have done their Endeavour to immortalize them. And as for *Titus's* Magnificence, it appear'd very conspicuously in the many Reparations made at his Expence, and by his Order, at
Rome;

Rome; particularly in that stately (d) Amphitheater, begun by his Father, and finish'd in this Emperor's Reign. A Work, which attracts the Curiosity, and raises the Admiration of Travelers, to this day.

A Prince of this Character seem'd to merit long Life, tho' his was not so. He died soon after having enter'd upon the Third Year of his Empire; and it was believ'd, with a great deal of Reason, not without Treachery on the part of his Brother *Domitian*, who succeeded him.

(d) This Amphitheater was the finest Piece of Workmanship in Rome, when it was entire. *Martial* has made the *Elogium* of it in the following Distich:

*Omnis Casareo cedat labor Amphitheatro,
Unum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus.*

In the middle of this Amphitheater, was placed a large Statue of *Nero*, call'd *Nero's Colossus*, and the Place, from it, *Coliseum*. It was in this Amphitheater, that they took the cruel Diversion of seeing Men fight with Beasts. Here also *S. Ignatius*, Bishop of *Aptioch*, was expos'd to the Lions, in whose Teeth he begg'd of God that he might be ground, to make Bread, as he call'd it, fit to be offer'd up to him. And many more Martyrs shed their Blood, for *Christ's* sake, in the same Place, which now lies half-ruin'd, tho' 'tis still sufficient to give the Curious a vast Idea of the *Roman* Magnificence. At the Entrance into this Theater, on the side of *Constantine's* Triumphal Arch, there is this devout Inscription:

*Amphitheatrum Flavium:
Non tam opere, more & artificio, ac veterum
Spectaculorum memoria,
Quam sacro innumerabilium Martyrum
Cruore illustre,
Venerabundus hospes ingredere;
Et, in augusto magnitudinis Romana Monumento,
Execrata Caesarum sevitia,
Heroes fortitudinis Christianæ
Suspice & exora.*

And on the other side, is another Inscription in these Words:

*Amphitheatrum hoc, vulgo
Colosseum,
Ob Neronis Colossus illi
Appositum,
Verum ob innumerabilium SS. Martyrum
In eo cruciatorum memoriam,
Crucis trophæum.*



DOMITIA LONGINA,
CONSORT
TO
DOMITIAN.



BEAUTY and Vertue do not always go hand in hand. On the contrary, it has been long since remark'd, that they are seldom found together. Strength of Constitution frequently triumphs over the Charms of Vertue; and Domestick Examples of Modesty, and Prudence, and Reserve, many times prove but weak Defences against the Batteries of depraved Nature. We have seen to what abominable Vices *Julia, Poppæa*, and some others, prostituted their Charms: It remains for us now to examine what Use *Domitia* made of hers.

She was Daughter to *Domitius Corbulo*, one of the greatest Men that *Rome* ever bred. His Civil and Military Vertues equal'd the most celebrated Captains, and the most consummate Politicians of Old *Rome*. His Honesty was above Corruption; so that, in Employs, he sought only the Glory of discharging them well. Wise in his Projects, fearless of Danger, and impenetrable in

in his Designs; he was almost sure of Success in his Undertakings, which was hardly at any time the Effect of Chance. He had a Presence of Mind capable of finding Resources in all Events, however unexpected; and by his perfect Experience in the Art of War, he knew how to turn every thing to his Advantage. Hence he would often say, * that *an Enemy must be conquer'd with an* * *Frontin. Stratagen. lib. 4. c. 7.*
 (a) *Axe*; meaning, with all kinds of Instruments and continual Labour. He was a Man of such an inviolable Fidelity, even with regard to his Enemies and those of the Empire, that he was belov'd by the very Barbarians to whom he was a Terrour. In a word, he was so highly † esteem'd † *Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 17.*
 for his Integrity, his Capacity, his Victories, and his Triumphs, that he was more than once thought worthy of the Empire.

Domitia Longina was, notwithstanding, more admired for her own Charms, than for all her Father's Merit. She out-shone, in this Respect, all the *Roman Belles*. She was in the Bloom of Youth; a proper Age to attract Admirers: Neither did she want those of the first Rank. Every Man of Merit or Distinction courted her Alliance; and *Ælius Lamia*, of the ancient and illustrious Family of the *Lamia*, thought it an Honour to make her his Wife.

That Senator, who by a fabulous Genealogy derived his Origine from the immortal Gods; namely, from *Lamus* the Son of (b) *Neptune*, had all the Merit that could be wish'd, and was capable of fixing any Heart, excepting that of *Longina*. But this *Roman Lady* had too much of the Coquet, to restrain her Inclination within the

(a) *Domitius Corbulo*, *Dolabrâ*, *id est*, *operibus hostem vincendum esse dicebat*. *Frontin.*

(b) The *Lamia* asserted their Descent from *Lamus*, Founder of the City of *Formia*; and the *Antonines*, who govern'd the *Roman Empire*, boasted that they sprung from them. Be that as it will, the Family

* Dio,
Excerpt.
per Vales.

Bounds of Conjugal Duty. * In losing her Father, whom Nero, that Enemy to Vertue, sacrificed to his brutish Fury; she lost all Remembrance of those Examples of Vertue, which he so often gave her; and her Ambition falling in with her Taste of Gallantry, she became, tho' Daughter to the Wisest Man in Rome, one of the lewdest and most notorious Curtezans there.

Domitian, the Emperor *Vespasian's* younger Son, was the first Man, that by his Addresses rais'd Suspicions little favourable to her Reputation. The Vertue of a Lady, who receiv'd, with the utmost Complaisance, the Visits of a Prince which could not but make a great Noise at Rome, was reckon'd justly liable to be call'd in question; and it was generally believ'd, *Domitia* would not be able to hold out long against the eager Pursuits of a Lover, whose Passion might serve to advance her Fortune. *Lamia*, the Person chiefly concern'd, made these Reflexions himself, and thereupon took some Alarm, which was soon after justify'd. † Scarce was *Domitian* proclaim'd Emperor, but, abusing the Authority he was invest'd with, by virtue of this new Dignity, he like a Brute robb'd *Ælius* of his Wife *Domitia Longina*, whom he ‖ marry'd with all the Speed he could, and presently after gave her the Title of *Augusta*. Less Religious, no doubt, and less Gallant than *Augustus*, who would not marry Li-

† Dio,
lib. 67.

‖ Sueton.
cap. 1. in
Domit.

of the *Lamia* was very ancient at Rome in *Augustus's* Reign. *Horace* speaks very

honourably of it, in an Ode inscribed to *Ælius Lamia*.

*Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
(Quando & priores hinc Lamias serunt
Denominatos, & nepotum*

*Per memores genus omne fastos)
Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & innantem Maricæ*

*Littoribus tenuisse Lirin,
Late Tyrannus. --- Hor. Od. 17. lib. 3.*

via,

via, till he had consulted the Gods and their Pontiffs, and made a Compliment to *Tiberius Nero*, the Lady's Husband.

The furious Flames, which arise from a Criminal Fire, seldom proving of long Duration; it was reasonable to think, *Domitian* would quench his in the Variety he was now become Master of; and that he would quickly disrelish a Woman, whose Fidelity he had so easily surprized. Beside, Reasons of State should have induced him to shake off his Passion for *Longina*. * The Emperor *Titus*, his Brother, offer'd him his Daughter *Julia Sabina*, whose Charms might have vy'd with those of *Corbulo's* Daughter; neither was she much unlike her in point of Gallantry: But as Love is seldom known to pursue the Maxims of Policy, *Domitian* was too amorous to sacrifice his Passion to his Fortune. New Chains tied him down to *Longina*; for he had a † Daughter by her, which serv'd as the Pledge of their Love. Wherefore, turning a deaf Ear to all the Reasons they could urge, he absolutely refused the Offer his Brother made him, and with Indifference saw *Titus* marry his Daughter *Julia* to her Cousin-German *Sabinus*, tho' her Portion was no less than the Prospect of Empire.

* Sueton.
in Domit.
cap. 22.

† Sueton.
in Domit.
cap. 3.

It was impossible for *Domitian* to give *Longina* a more glaring or substantial Proof of the Violence of his Passion. He refused, for her sake, one of the lovely'st Persons in *Rome*, and risked the Loss of the finest Fortune in the World. So great a Sacrifice look'd like the Earnest of an eternal Love, and seem'd to warrant that Prince's Heart to *Domitia* for ever. If any thing could rob her of it, one would think it should be the Match proposed to him, wherein his Fortune was so very much concern'd. But the fairest Tokens that inordinate Love can give of long Duration, are many times the Fore-runners of its approach-
ing

* *Sueton.*
in *Domit.*
cap. 22.

ing Flight ; and that, which to Appearance should make Love as lasting as Life, is often found to put a fatal Period to it. * No sooner was *Julia* marry'd to *Sabinus*, but *Domitian* unaccountably falls in Love with her : And the Princess, who was so indifferent to him when there was no Objection to his loving her, now transports him when he cannot love her without a Crime. Wretched Depravity of Human Nature ! which hardly ever passionately desires any thing but what it is forbid to desire.

That which contributed very much to enflame *Domitian's* Passion, was the tender Returns he met with from *Julia*, notwithstanding the Contempt he had put upon her. That Princess, who had not the Reputation of being Cruel, thought *Domitian* made her ample Amends for his former Indifference, by declaring his Repentance of it. She took him at his Word, and yielded him her entire Affection. Their Passion degenerated into Lewdness ; and, abusing the Liberty of meeting as often as they would, which Proximity of Blood entitled them to, *Sabina* shamefully prostituted herself to the Man that had before disdain'd her, and gave a manifest Proof that inordinate Love is not bound by any Rules of Delicacy.

† *Sueton.*
in *Domit.*
cap. 22.

Their Intrigue grew most notorious after *Titus's* Death. † Constraint and Decency were bury'd with that Emperor ; and our Lovers having now nothing to fear, pursued without Reserve the Dictates of their infamous Passion. Only one thing occur'd, that seem'd to interrupt their Brutal Felicity. *Sabinus* was *Julia's* Husband ; and *Domitian* grew intolerably jealous of him ; as if he had the only Right to claim that, which *Sabina* could not grant him without a Crime. He had nothing to do therefore, but to remove this Obstacle.

Mean

Mean while, *Longina* was not insensible of *Domitian's* Change; but instead of complaining, she view'd his Inconstancy with the utmost Indifference. She reflected, that what her Husband did, was perhaps to revenge himself of her Infidelity toward him; and, as if she would regulate her Actions by those of the Emperor, his Amour was no sooner publick, than she became a common Prostitute. Nay, which is worse, she had the vile and audacious Impudence to * traffick indiscriminately with the most Despicable of Men; and *Paris* the Comedian, of whom she was mightily enamour'd, was the Favourite Gallant, to whom she surrender'd without Discretion or Reserve.

* *Sueton.*
in Domit.
cap. 3.
Aur. Vict.
in Domit.

Domitian did not much concern himself about his Wife's Incontinence; but pursuing closely his Amour with his Niece, † was with Difficulty persuaded to divorce *Longina*, at the Request of the Senator *Ursus*, after he had got *Paris* murder'd in the open Street: And this was all the Punishment he inflicted on her. Happy! had he follow'd the Advice of those, who were for putting an End to her Crimes and her Life together; and used her with that just Severity, which he cruelly exercised against the innocent *Sabinus*, whom he put to Death upon forged and trifling Pretences, to cover his Design of enjoying *Julia* without a Rival. But it was not long, before he had Occasion to repent both the one and the other. *Domitia* dishonour'd him by her infamous Prostitutions; and the Death of *Sabinus*, who gave him so much Uneasiness, that he thought nothing but his Death could secure to him the full Enjoyment of *Julia*, was on the contrary the Cause of that incestuous Princess's unhappy Fate. For, the Emperor was no sooner got rid of the Man he had look'd upon as the fatal Obstacle to his Pleasures, but he † abandon'd himself entirely to his furious Passion for *Sabina*; and she, without

† *Sueton.*
in Domit.
cap. 3.
Xiphilin.
in Domit.

|| *Sueton.*
in Domit.
cap. 22.
Xiphilin.
in Domit.

without Sense of Shame, comporting herself toward her Uncle with the same Liberty she would have done toward a Husband, the Consequence of their too great Familiarity was, she proved with (c) Child.

Then it was, that they first perceiv'd the Necessity of *Sabinus*, whom they had inconsiderately put to Death, to skreen their detestable Commerce. They blush'd to think that all the City would see the scandalous Fruit of their incestuous Embraces, and the whole Empire ring of an Uncle's brutishly debauching his Niece. So true it is, that Vice is ashamed to shew its Head, even there where the Author of it can committ it with Impunity. *Domitian*, therefore, determining within himself, to conceal from the Publick the Knowledge of a Crime, which was ready to burst forth, and spread itself upon *Sabina's* Pregnancy, had recourse to another Crime. * He gave her a Draught to cause Abortion; and we read in History, that this was not the first time she made use of that woful Expedient. But the Effect of this murderous Infusion was stronger than they design'd. † *Sabina*, who intended to destroy only the Fruit of her Amours by that Liquor, drank her own Death in the same; and warn'd, by a just Judgment, those who incur the same dreadful Guilt, for human Considerations not strong enough to stop the Fury of their Passions, that they many times meet with the End and Punishment of their Crimes in those dangerous Potions they swallow, to salve a Reputation before Man, which they dare to lose before God.

* *Dio*,
lib. 67.

† *Sueton.*
in Domit.
cap. 22.
Dio, l. 16.
Plinius,
Epist. 11.

(c) *Philostratus* pretends, that *Domitian* solemnly marry'd *Julia Sabina*: But were this true, why should that Emperor, who would have been very glad of a Son by a lawful Wife, make use of the barbarous Extremity to oblige that Princess to destroy what she had actually conceiv'd?

Sabina's

Sabina's Death restored *Domitia* to Favour. The Emperor, whose Love for this Woman had more properly lain dormant, than extinguish'd, recall'd her under pretence that the People desired it as a Favour of him, and * ridiculously gave out * *Sueton. in Domit. cap. 13.* that she was call'd by them to his sacred Bed. Blind and inconstant Prince! not considering that the same just Reasons he had to divorce her, still subsisted in as great Vigour as ever. This Conduct gave Birth to innumerable Satyrs and Lampoons; wherein the Authors charged *Domitian* with betraying a wretched Weakness in recalling *Longina*, or else with having been too hasty in repudiating her. Thus he became a mere Fable, and the Jest of all Conversation. But these Satyrs, and these Burlesques, cost some of their Authors very dear. Subjects are to bewail in Silence the Failings of their Prince, if they have a mind to avoid Trouble: Not to censure their Actions with their temerarious Remarks, which always expose them to the worst of Dangers. † *Helvidius* lost his Life, for writing a few Verses; † *Sueton. in Domit.* wherein, under the Persons of *Paris* and *Anone*, he attack'd the Emperor for divorcing *Domitia*. *Lamia* paid the Price of his Blood for a poignant Rallery, which he seem'd entitled to in Right of his Wife: And in short, as many as had made bold to reprehend that Tyrant's Conduct, were made to feel the Effects of his Cruelty; for their Satyrs stung him the more vehemently, because he knew they were too well grounded. § They § *Ann. Viti. in Domit.* put him in mind of *Longina's* abominable Vices: They made him recollect her scandalous Lewdness with Players, Buffoons, and every thing that was Mean, and Pitiful, and Despicable in *Rome*: He was ever revolving in his Thoughts her shameful Adultery with *Paris* the Comedian, whose Crime was sufficiently publish'd to the World, by the publick Punishment inflicted on him

him for it. And in these melancholy Reflexions, which roused his Anger in proportion as they cover'd his Face with Shame and Confusion, he breathed nothing but Rage and Fury. * One of *Paris's* Scholars was executed for no other Reason, but because he resembled his Master in the Face. *Hermogenes*, a Native of *Tarsus*, had the same Fate, for being too free in some Expressions, in the History he compiled: And in a word, not knowing, at last, whom to exercise his Malice upon, he revenged himself upon all, without Distinction, that his Cruelty suggested to him, without Regard to Vertue, Kindred, Age, or Innocence. *Glabrio*, a Person who had been honour'd with the Consulate, and was thought to have imbibed the Principles of our Religion, fell a Victim to his Rage: † *Flavius Clemens*, his Cousin-German, was murder'd by his particular Order: His Wife *Domitia* was banish'd to the Island of *Pandateria*; and § *Flavia Domitilla*, Cousin to that barbarous Prince, being banish'd to the Isle of *Pontia*, receiv'd there the Crown of Martyrdom: A Virgin much more illustrious for the Honour she had, of dying for the sake of *Jesus Christ*, whose Faith she had embraced; than for the Relation she bore to that unworthy Emperor.

The dismal Fate of *Paris* the Comedian, and all the other bloody Executions subsequent to it, one would have thought sufficient to put *Domitia* upon her Guard: But far from learning Wisdom by these Examples, she still ran Riot into fresh Disorders. The Impunity of her past Crimes embolden'd her to the Commission of new; for she imagined, that her Debaucheries, which she had carry'd to the highest Excesses, were forgotten, because they were not punish'd; so that she had nothing now to fear. And in this fatal Confidence, not content with abandoning herself to the most monstrous Vices in Nature, she took

new

* *Sueton.*
in Domit.

† *Sueton.*
in Domit.
cap. 15.

§ *Baron.*
ad Annal.
Domit. 15.

new Pride, and glory'd in her Shame, boasting publickly of her abominable Lewdness. So true it is, that Corruption gathers Strength from Impunity.

It is surprizing, that an Empress of this black and infamous Character, should meet with Panegyrist: And yet *Josephus*, that celebrated Historian, and in other respects a very honest Man, speaks of her as a Princess of the strictest Vertue. A partial Encomium no doubt, which the illustrious *Jew* thought himself obliged to give of *Domitia*, in Gratitude for the many Favours he had receiv'd at her Hands, who always honour'd him with her Protection. But *Procopius* out-does the *Jewish* Historian, and says, *Domitia* was a Princess endow'd with all the Vertues and good Qualities; and, by Praises thus undeservedly bestow'd, evinces, that Vice has not always wanted Approbation.

Domitian, who knew his Wife as well as any body, had not an Opinion so much to her Advantage. He was well acquainted with her dissolute Way of Living; and concluded, that after having gone thro' such a publick Course of Libertinism, she would not stick at any Crime of what Nature soever. Wherefore, he resolv'd to give her the just Reward of her Crimes, by putting her to Death. The Day of her Execution was to be a fatal Day also for several other Persons; for the Emperor having conceiv'd a Jealousy of certain of his Courtiers, was determin'd to cure it at once at the Expence of their Lives; and in this Design, he set down a List of their Names, whom he intended to sacrifice to his Quiet, or his Fury. *Domitia*, his Consort, appear'd in the Front of this List. *Petronius Secundus*; *Parthenius*, his Great Chamberlain; *Norbanus*, and several others, were of the Number proscribed; and certainly their Lives had been very short, had not Chance come in to their Relief.

* Dio,
lib. 68.
Aur. Viſt.
in Domit.

A little Boy that *Domitian* kept for his Diversion, (for he delighted to hear him prattle) going one day into that Prince's Chamber while he was asleep, took from under his Bolster, a Piece of Paper, and began to play with it. * *Domitia* meeting him, was for diverting herself a little; and being curious to see what Paper he had, took it from him, open'd it, and read it. But how was she surprized, to find her Name at the Head of those who had but a Day to live! Being, however, in Possession of a Paper of that Importance, she immediately sent for the Persons equally concern'd with herself to prevent their Fate, told them the Danger they were in, and, to convince them of the Truth of what she said, shew'd them the Paper, that fatal Depositary of the Emperor's cruel Intention.

The Danger was pressing; the Time so short, as not to allow of Consideration. They instantly agreed, therefore, to be before-hand with *Domitian*, by dispatching the Tyrant who would otherwise dispatch them. It was done: And *Domitian* was murder'd in his Chamber; to instruct sanguinary Princes, that a fatal End is ordinarily the Reward of their (d) Cruelties.

History does not give us any farther Light into the Affairs of *Domitia*; but by what we have already seen, we may conjecture, without wronging her Memory, that she pass'd the rest of her Life in the same dissolute Way: For, since the Dread of Punishment, join'd with her Husband's Presence, could not put a Stop to her vicious Courses; we cannot suppose she behaved with Discretion under the Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who exercised Cruelty only toward the *Christians*.

(d) At the very Instant that *Domitian* was assassinated at Rome, the News was told at *Ephesus*: For, *Apollonius*, the famous Magician of *Tyana*, being then in the middle of an Harangue to the People of *Ephesus*, stopt short, and cry'd out, *Smite the Tyrant, Smite the Tyrant!* and declared to his Auditors, that they were that Moment dispatching the Emperor at Rome; which proved true.

F I N I S.





A N

I N D E X

O F T H E

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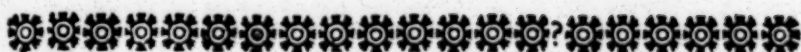
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APPRO-



APPROBATION.

I Have, by Order of my Lord Chancellor, read over the Book, entitled, *The Lives and Amours of the Empresses, Consorts to the first Twelve Cæsars of Rome*; and am of Opinion, that the Printing of it will be Instructive and Entertaining.

Paris, Sept. 15.
1717.

FONTENELLE.

